Daily Report

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CONTENTS

INTRABLOC AFFAIRS

Further Reportage on 44th Prague CEMA Session 1
Dascalescu Addresses Session *[AGERPRES]* 1
Strougal, Messner Address Reception *[Prague]* 1
Further Report *[CTK]* 1
Strougal's Concluding Speech *[CTK]* 2
Romania Alone on Common Market Question *[Budapest]* 3
Strougal Interview *[Prague TV]* 4
Messner Evaluates Session *[Warsaw TV]* 5
PAP Summarizes Communique 5
Gorbachev Likely To Propose Arms Control Plan *[Hamburg DPA]* 6

BULGARIA

Bulgarian Apparatus for Phobos Space Project 7
Zhivkov Speaks at Cosmonauts' Luncheon *[RABOTNICHESKO DELO 2 Jul]* 7
Decree on Sheltered Work for AIDS Carriers 8

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Further Reportage on USSR's Ryzhkov Visit 9
Hold Talks With Jakes 9
Holds News Conference 9
Discusses USSR Economic Issues 10
Discusses 1968, Troops in CSSR 10
Received by Husak 10
Strougal, Ryzhkov Dinner Speeches 11
Arrives in Bratislava 11
Meets With Slovak Officials 12
Addresses Dinner With Colotka 12
Joint Communique Issued 13
Interviewed on Visit 14
CEMA Session Delegation Steps Approved 15

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SED-SPD Proposal for Zone of Confidence Plan 16
Bonn Demands 'All or Nothing' From Disarmament *["He." in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 7 Jul]* 17
Leaders' Public Appearances 30 June - 6 July 18

HUNGARY

Romania Border Crossing Said 'Problem-Free' 19
Szuros Speaks in Spain on Problems With Romania *[Madrid]* 19
Further on Szuros' Speech *[Madrid]* 19
Text of Budapest Demonstrators Memo To Romania *[MAGYAR NEMZET 2 Jul]* 19
Karpati Returns From Moscow, Makes Statement 21
Geza Kotai Assesses Disarmament Proposals 21
Defense Minister Interviewed on Pact Meeting 22

Departing Soviet Commander Receives Award *[NESZABADSAG 5 Jul]* 23
MTI Reports on Grosz NY TIMES Interview 23
Grosz NEWSWEEK Interview Cited 24
MSZMP Central Committee To Meet 13 July 24
More on National Assembly Constitution Committee *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 2 Jul]* 24

POLAND

Officials, Media Preview Gorbachev Visit 25
Rakowski News Conference 25
Olechowski on Visit 25
Gwiazda News Conference 25
Gorbachev Profiled 26
Solidarity Demands Katyn Explanation *[Hamburg DPA]* 27
KPN Arrests, Homes Searched *[Hamburg DPA]* 27
Media Coverage of Arrival 27
Gorbachev Begins Official Visit, Conferences 28
Honored at Arrival Ceremony 28
Hailed by Warsaw Crowds 28
Jaruzelski, Gorbachev Begin Talks 28
Officials Discuss Polish-Soviet Relations 28
Gwiazda Views Economic Ties 28
Characterized by 'New Nature' 29
Council of Ministers Meets on Special Powers 29
Economic Report Approved 30

YUGOSLAVIA

Mikulic Responds to Interference Charges 31
Vojvodina Body Decries 'Accusation, Lies' 32
Demonstration Takes Place in Novi Sad 32
Details of Protest 33
Kosovo Press Describes Meeting *[RILINDJA 26 Jun]* 34
Demonstrations To Be Discussed 35
Krunic on Novi Sad Events 35
Slovene Leaders Receive Human Rights Delegation 37
Kucan Statement on Slovenia at LCY CC 37
Serbian Security Termed 'Difficult' *[POLITIKA 24 Jun]* 40
Folk Group 'Ill-Treated' at Greek Border 42
Commentary Views USSR Political Scene *[Vukcevic BORBA 23 Jun]* 42

Further Reportage on 44th Prague CEMA Session

Dascalescu Addresses Session

AU0707090288 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0749 GMT 7 Jul 88

["Romanian Chief Delegate Addresses CMEA Session"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Prague AGERPRES 7/7/1988—Addressing the 44th CMEA session in Prague, the head of the Socialist Republic of Romania's delegation, Constantin Dascalescu, member of the CC of the RCP's Executive Political Committee, highlighted the special importance our party, its general secretary Nicolae Ceausescu personally, attaches to a growing economic cooperation, cooperation and specialization within the CMEA in the spirit of the resolutions adopted by the 1984 economic summit. The prime minister brought to the fore several major aspects for consideration in order that the coordination of the plans for the next five year-plan be successful. It was shown that the action should be another opportunity to translate into fact jointly-made decisions for the further expansion of mutual cooperation, as part of which the major problems of concern to our countries at present should be solved, namely: to better meet the demands for energy, fuel, materials and other products in short supply, to give greater scope to production specialization and cooperation in production, to use to the full the productive and technological-scientific potential of each country.

The Romanian prime minister outlined in his address his party and state's position on the way cooperation in science and technology developed on the basis of the "Comprehensive Programme for the Technological and Scientific Progress of the CMEA Member Countries Until the Year 2000". Underscoring the Romanian party's constant concern for the past twenty years to stimulate national scientific creation as well as his country's major interest in the accomplishment of the comprehensive programme, the Romanian chief delegate said the CMEA member countries and organs should take more energetic action for its themes and priority projects to be realized more dynamically, for the planned results to be attained as fast as possible and provide the basis for a passage to production specialization and cooperation in production, to mutual goods deliveries, for some of the results to be put to work in the economies of the member countries before this five-year period ends.

The session continues its work.

Strougal, Messner Address Reception

LD0707154888 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1500 GMT 7 Jul 88

[Text] The CPCZ Central Committee, the president of the Republic, and the federal government gave a reception today in the Prague Castle in honor of the participants in the 44th CEMA session. It was attended by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the party Central Committee; Gustav Husak, president of the Republic; Lubomir Strougal, federal premier; Ladislav Adamec, Vasil Bilak, Jan Fojtik, Josef Kempny, and Jozef Lenart, members of the party Central Committee Presidium; Frantisek Pitra, candidate member of the party Central Committee Presidium; Jaroslav Hajn, chairman of the party Central Control and Audit Commission; and other officials and delegations of the countries taking part in the 44th CEMA session. Also among the guests was Vyacheslav Sychev, secretary of the CEMA.

In a speech at the reception, Lubomir Strougal stated that the past 3 days of talks have advanced the level of cooperation in certain aspects, and have also made the community's intentions more specific. The most important result of the session, he stated, is the fact that the participants did not limit themselves to critical analyses, but had also found solutions which would help to speed up the process of restructuring the content, tools, forms, and methods of the CEMA's work.

Zbigniew Messner, chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, noted in his speech that the course and resolution of the 44th CEMA session were notable for their constructive criticism which should provide an inspiration for radical changes. The community, he emphasized, is facing a most difficult task: that of implementing the resolution in such a way that it produces specific results as soon as possible which would be felt by our society.

Further Report

LD0707182788 Prague CTK in English 1619 GMT 7 Jul 88

[Text] Prague July 7 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee, the president and the federal government gave a reception at Prague Castle today for the participants in the 44th session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

The reception was attended by Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes, President Gustav Husak, Federal Premier Lubomir Strougal and other members of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium, and delegations to the CMEA session.

Speeches were delivered by Prime Ministers Lubomir Strougal of Czechoslovakia and Zbigniew Messner of Poland.

Lubomir Strougal described as the most important result of the session the fact that "we did not limit ourselves to a mere critical evaluation, but also found solutions which will serve to speed up steps in the restructuring of the content, tools, forms and methods of CMEA work, to the benefit of each of our countries as well as the whole community."

The CMEA delegations agreed that the adopted concept of international socialist division of labour must be open so that "we come closer to the world in the main branches, to the technical-economic standard and quality of the rivals. We want to allow no lagging behind or marking time. We want to have an ever bigger share in the international division of labour."

Lubomir Strougal said that real restructuring of the integration mechanism is imperative for progress. This requires full realization of the role of money-goods relations in socialism, work with real values and costs in the individual economies, and introduction of mutually closer social legislation.

"We have taken a significant step ahead, encouraged by the decisions of the All-Union Conference of the Soviet Communist Party which we accept as an important impulse, as a challenge to follow for every true supporter of progress," Lubomir Strougal stressed.

Zbigniew Messner also emphasized the need for restructuring of the mechanisms of socialist economic integration and for progress to a qualitatively higher stage of cooperation. The creative criticism characteristic of the CMEA session should inspire radical changes.

"The strengthening of the socio-economic potential of the socialist community, bridging the gap between the development of the European and extra-European CMEA member states, and improvement of the socialist international division of labour directly influence the status of our countries in the world."

Zbigniew Messner said that "we can build peace, security and all-round cooperation only if we deepen the process of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, promote cooperation between states and regional organizations, including the CMEA and the EEC, and respect the political and territorial facts - the inviolability of borders and sovereignty of all states."

The Polish premier added that the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty will specify at its session, starting in Warsaw in several days, the priorities ensuing from the development of the international situation.

Strougal's Concluding Speech

LD0707165288 Prague CTK in English 1545 GMT 7 Jun 88

[Text] Prague July 7 (CTK)—An objective analysis of the development of the community in the past two years shows that that the rate of growth of mutual trade has slowed down, that the international specialization and cooperation in production is developing insufficiently and that the process of applying the scientific and technological knowledge in the production is also slow, Czechoslovak Premier Lubomir Strougal, head of the host delegation, stressed in his final speech at the 44th CMEA session here today.

"It is especially in the key sphere—the development of science and technology—where we lag behind the world in the most significant branches. This situation requires a radical turn, a quicker progress in the restructuring of the mechanism of cooperation because we will not do any more with a mere improvement of the existing mechanism", he stressed.

The basic attitude to a new construction of this mechanism must be sought in a consistent respect for and purposeful planned use of the objective economic laws of the socialist goods production. The underestimation of the role of goods-money relations in socialism negatively influences the international division of labour and cooperation in the community, Lubomir Strougal stressed.

"We are convinced, as well as other countries, that without a consistent development of the real goods-money relations between the member countries, no significant progress in cooperation can be achieved", the Czechoslovak premier continued.

He stressed the need for proper internal and contract prices, rates of exchange, interest rates etc. Only in the way—by accentuating the economic aspects of cooperation—can both the states and their economic organizations be motivated and stimualted to strive for a rise in the technological and economic level of productions and products, for the development of mutually beneficial direct relations and the creation of an integrated market.

It is just an illusion that the international system of management can be restructured without corresponding changes in the national mechanisms, Strougal pointed out.

"We have also come to the opinion that there should be one international mechanism for all levels and forms of cooperation. This fully applies also to the realization of the collective concept of the international socialist division of labour...we agree unconditionally with the idea that our socialist market must be built in coordination with the world economy, which means gradual filling and opening of national markets and the overcoming of autarkical tendencies", he said, adding that the content of the adopted documents provides for the first step towards overcoming the existing tendencies.

The Czechoslovak premier underlined that the session welcomed the establishment of official relations between CMEA and the EEC. "This is a significant step in the all-European cooperation which makes new demands upon our activity that we must consider to a much greater extent from the angle of all-European and world

developments", he added, and appreciated the adopted special programs of assistance to the Cuban Republic, the Mongolian People's Republic and the Vietnamese Socialist Republic.

Dealing with the deteriorating economic position of the developing countries, he stressed that the council voiced support for their effort for the introduction of a new international economic order.

"We are ready to take measures leading towards the expansion of cooperation with the developing countries and improve the activities of our mixed commissions", he said, and underlined that the discussions at the 44th CMEA session were businesslike and that questions and problems were discussed in a comradely atmosphere marked by mutual understanding.

Bulgarian Premier Georgi Atanasov stressed in an address that the course of the session and the atmosphere of the discussion showed that new thinking and the awareness of the objective and urgent need for a deep restructuring of the integration process are apparent in the CMEA activity and increasingly influence the community's joint work.

It will not be just an expression of traditional respect for the Soviet Communist Party to stress that the influence of the political and creative impulse of its 19th conference was felt at the Prague session, he stressed.

He welcomed the presence of the representatives of Angola, Afghanistan, the Yemen People's Democratic Republic, Laos, Mozambique, Nicaragua and Ethiopia at the session and said that it confirmed the firm ties of cooperation and solidarity linking these countries and nations together in the struggle for peace and social progress.

He voiced the conviction that CMEA will uncover more reserves and stimuli for the activitation of the integration processes.

Czechoslovak Premier Lubomir Strougal then declared the 44th CMEA session concluded.

Romania Alone on Common Market Question

LD0707193088 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 7 Jul 88

[Text] The CEMA session in Prague has ended. Evelyn Forro reports from the scene:

[Forro] With the exception of Romania, every CEMA country urges the formation of a common market. Most of the Hungarian proposals are to be found in the resolutions adopted at the session, Jozsef Marjai said. Soviet Premier Ryzhkov called the Hungarian-Romanian conflict an abnormal situation. According to the CEMA secretary, the agreement concluded with the Common Market contributes to an improvement of the political climate in Europe. So much for the highlights of today's quite busy program. Let us now look at it in detail.

After the conclusion of the Prague session, Jozsef Marjai said to Hungarian journalists: There is much stronger recognition than hitherto among the CEMA countries that something must be done, and it is necessary to not merely perfect and improve, but to change fundamentally some elements of cooperation. He added: Most countries accept, not only in words and phrases, but also in substance, that there is a need to create a socialist common market.

There was a big difference as regards the methods with which this should happen, the deputy premier said. Of the 10 member countries, 9 affirmed their intention that in the long term a common market must be created in the interest of a freer flow of goods and services. The conditions for this are being studied.

When the CEMA secretary was asked at the press briefing which country does not wish to participate in this program, Sychev very diplomatically listed the countries which support the plan, and this is how it emerged that Romania is missing. By the way, a similar procedure was taken in the communique.

In connection with Romania, the Soviet premier was of the opinion that it would joint the socialist common market, but this would still take a lot of time. While Jozsef Marjai spoke to Hungarian journalists and then replied to questions from the FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE correspondent, the Soviet head of government was being questioned by a reporter from the BBC. He asked Nikolay Ryzhkov when there would be a unified European Common Market, whose members would include the CEMA countries. In the distant future, the premier said, and his reply was accompanied by lively amusement. It was also the BBC correspondent who asked his opinion on the Hungarian-Romanian relationship, to which Ryzhkov said: Attempts must be made to change the situation, because it is abnormal.

Returning to the work of the Prague session, the communique that was released shows that most of the Hungarian proposals were accepted by the states—for example, that direct cooperation should be developed between enterprises, and that the assertion of commodity and monetary relations should be regulated and encouraged with economic methods instead of commands. Our proposal that a new currency system should be formed met with increased agreement. The communique also says that production specialization and cooperation is not developing at a satisfactory pace, the rate of growth of trade has slowed down, and the external indebtedness of several countries has increased. The so-called collective concept of the division of labor for

the period 1991-2005 was adopted, as was the type of principles on whose basis the people's economic plans will be coordinated in this same period.

Strougal Interview

LD0707213688 Prague Television Service in Czech 1730 GMT 7 Jul 88

[Interview with CSSR Prime Minister Lubomir Strougal "at the end of the 44th CEMA session" by an unidentified correspondent; recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Comrade Premier, the 44th CEMA session has just ended. In view of the documents adopted, is it possible to talk about progress in terms of actual results?

[Strougal] I think so; certainly inasmuch as this 44th session after all was extraordinary in its own way, although formally it was called an ordinary session. From the point of view of the program, contents, as well as results, it represents a certain significant step forward. The questions discussed were mainly in three spheres. The main point was a division of labor between the socialist countries up to 2000 - 2005; the second question was scientific-techanical progress, that is fulfilling the comprehensive program which we adopted in December 1985 in Moscow; and the third question concerned an integration mechanism for economic international cooperation. That is the point which marked the discussion of all these questions. The attention of all the delegations was focused on this.

Not all of us expressed the same views, inasmuch as it is a complicated question which cannot be resolved over the weekend or in a month or even in a year. It is difficult to predict how quickly we can cope with things. But I think that we have agreed on this question, namely that we have to work on this problem because, as a matter of fact, it creates the main prerequisites for making enterprises and states interested in developing international division of labor, specialization, and cooperation, not only in coordinating plans up to 1995, but from the the overall perspective. Naturally, this is inseparably connected with scientific-technical progress.

[Correspondent] I would like to talk about fulfilling the program for scientific-technical progress of the council's member states up to 2000. This is the third time a session at this level has discussed it. In spite of this, this year's report is by no means favorable. Did the session adopt certain measures in order to guarantee that the program will be implemented more consistently?

[Strougal] You are quite right that we are returning to the comprehensive program of scientific-technological cooperation for the third time. Naturally, the Executive Committee turns to this question all the time and it is being discussed all the time by the appropriate commissions. We are discussing this within the governments and among the political leadership because it is a strategic question: how to progress in the individual structures where we are lagging behind compared to world standards, and not only where we are lagging behind, but how to simply move forward. The discussion was very open and I think honest. It is important to accept reality, this means not to embellish things. Yes, we are in a certain situation: some states, some firms, some scientific-research institutes have done their share—that is what they had been set as a task—some are lagging behind. You are asking about guarantees. That is altogether a question of the economic mechanism. The economic mechanism, above all, must stimulate; it must make enterprises, the financial autonomy sphere, and scientific-technical organizations—and in the long run states—interested in creating optimal results.

On the other hand, of course, there are guarantees: If you are not fulfilling something, you must accept responsibility for it, that is actual economic responsibility. We have not finished working out these principles. It is more likely that there is political responsibility rather than economic and financial responsibility. In this direction, the mechanism must bring these questions into some concluding phase which would truly mean that at a given time, in given technical and economic parameters, we would accomplish the partial tasks which make up the individual priority section of the scientific-technical progress program which we have adopted.

[Correspondent] Comrade Premier, there was a lot of talk also about setting up a unified socialist market. I would be interested in what the attitude toward this question was and what conditions must be created for such a market.

[Strougal] This question was discussed vehemently for the first time today. Previously it was tabled by individual delegations, and sometimes others considered it a sinful thought, pardon my use of the word. But this is the case. This means great progress has been achieved because recognition of the existence and force of actual commodity-monetary relations in the socialist states, in the socialist economy, is one of the conditions for our economy to start developing more dynically, to be restructured according to the demands of the world market, not only the socialist market.

We are talking about creating conditions for a unified socialist market; but naturally, this unified socialist market must be inseparably connected with the parameters and conditions of the world market in general. I think that we have progressed some in the idea, in the principle, that we acknowledge it. There are states—and I think, above all, the USSR which tabled the initiative in this respect—which recognize this principle; there are states which, so to speak, want to go on studying this principle, want to analyze it further. I think that it is quite logical because it is a revolutionary idea, an idea which, of course, is correct, but which we need to analyze and study because we are slightly behind. I think that actual work is now called for: what the market is, what it

requires. It requires a lot, for example, to change the price mechanism, to review exchange rates, to look at acutal relations, to review all the questions of legal, economic, and financial guarantees, including bank operations, credit operations, which are demanded by the market, because the market is in motion and requires support for certain projects with certain effects.

[Correspondent] Comrade Premier, one more question: You said yourself that the discussion was very critical in some points. That is no doubt, correct. Nevertheless, what lessons will be drawn from this by the Czechoslovak side?

[Strougal] I think that not only the Czechoslovak side, but even my colleagues, the comrade heads of delegations of the CMEA member states, appreciate that we have put the cards on the table openly and honestly, even those who could not express agreement with everything today. For the Czechoslovak delegation, above all, there is one lesson: Working out an integration mechanism, which is connected with our economic reform, and not only the economic reform, must be paid attention and actually worked on.

Cormade Ryzhkov and I have agreed—as this cannot be done only within the nationwide framework, it must be done with someone, and inasmuch as the USSR, after all, is our biggest partner both in trade and in economic cooperation—we would like to start working on these matters with the USSR: prices, exchange rates, the credit policy, th legal and social conditions in the individual enterprises, the subsidy and intervention policy. This policy, naturally, distorts the life of the individual enterprise, and the enterprise is either in the same position as the Soviet partner or the foreign partner and it can enter into an equal relation with it, or it is not, and then it is naturally in a situation of disadvantage, whether the one or the other. This means that it is now necessary to develop very specific work on the integration mechanism and, in connection with it, also to specify programs for the division of labor and, in the long run, continue to make more and more specific the program for scientific-technical progress.

[Correspondent] Comrade Premier, thank you for the interview.

Messner Evaluates Session

LD0707195488 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 7 Jul 88

[Text] Premier Zbigniew Messner returned 30 minutes ago from Prague, and the 44th CEMA session. Here is a statement by the premier for the news bulletin:

[Begin recording] [Correspondent Grazyna Kowalska] Good evening.

[Messner] Good evening.

[Kowalska] Good evening and welcome in Warsaw, Premier. In your speech you devoted a lot of time to socialist economic integration. When will there be a common CEMA market?

[Messner] You know, one cannot give an unequivocal reply to such a question. All the work which we are undertaking within the framework of the CEMA—previously and at the present session, and still in the future—that's just what it's aimed at when many other conditions must still be fulfilled, which at the moment don't exist.

[Kowalkska] Could you please give us a brief assessment of the session?

[Messner] The session was very fruitful, above all critical. Since we are working on new mechanisms, which are to intensify and simultaneously further integrate the cooperation between our countries, the mechanisms used up until now were therefore analyzed critically, and on this basis new additional mechanisms are to be drawn up. Already at this session certain documents, decisions were adopted. They should contribute to that.

[Kowalska] Thank you very much for this interview.

[Messner] Thank you. [end recording]

PAP Summarizes Communique

LD0707225888 Warsaw PAP in English 2226 GMT 7 Jul 88

[Text] Prague, July 7: The 44th session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) wound up here today with the adoption of final documents, including a joint communique.

The session was attended by delegations, at the level of prime ministers or deputy prime ministers, from all the ten member states and from Yugoslavia as well as by delegations of the seven countries invited as observers.

The Polish delegation was headed by PUWP CC Political Bureau member and Chairman of the Council of Ministers Zbigniew Messner.

The final communique adopted by the session says that in keeping with developmenal guidelines approved by latest congresses of fraternal communist and workers' party, the CMEA member states pursue plans of intensification of national economies as well as of social and economic development.

However, the chances that the CMEA should establish are not taken full advantage of, nor are they pursued to the very end. Along with positive examples of co-production and specialization, as well as with examples of joint research and application projects, there are also examples testifying to insufficient pace of socialist cooperation and insufficient understanding in it.

Considering all this experience, the session adopted a multilateral concept of international socialist division of labour for the years 1991-2001, which concept will become a basis for co-ordination of economic policies, or, in case of certain countries, of both social and economic policies.

The adopted plan of co-ordination encompasses various industrial domains and various scientific and research topics, but treats problems of electronics as a number-one issue.

All the CMEA countries (with the exception of Romania) agreed that conditions should be established for mutual free flow of commodities and services, which is to lead eventually to an integrated market.

The session devoted especially much attention to development of economic relations with third world countries.

The CMEA member states, read the communique, confirm their striving for radical, comprehensive replacement of the system of economic relations in the world with such relations which could guarantee international economic security of all states, and particularly, of developing countires.

The CMEA members welcome with satisfaction establishment of official contacts with the European Economic Community (EEC) perceiving it as a first step along the road towards tightening of relations between the two great economic organizations.

A reception was organized at the Hradcany Castle here, attended by representatives of Czechoslovakia's highest party and state authorities headed by Milos Jakes, Gustav Husak and Lubomir Strougal. Present also were members of CMEA leadership as well as the delegations of the member states, Yugoslavia and observer countries.

On behalf of all the delegations, head of the Polish delegation Prime Minister Zbigniew Messner took the floor and said that the Prague session had coincided with a period of significant transformations on the world arena.

The recent All-Union Conference of Soviet Communists bore determined and clear influence upon the climate and effects of the session. It was at the conference that the nature of socialism was yet again proved to consist in the ability to undergo constructive transformations when achieving a common objective: just and fullest possible satisfaction of material and intellectual needs of working people in conditions of socialist democracy.

The debate was earnest, fruitful and constructive, Messner declared. The criticism that has accompanied it should become an inspiration for radical changes which are demanded by the current external and internal situation. They are also demanded by the mounting importance of socialist countries on the international arena where such favourable changes have recently taken place.

As a result of the Soviet-American summit, a process of genuine disarmament has been started for the first time ever in the history of mankind. It can and should be deepened by means of consistent pursuit of the CSCE (Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe) process and through tightening of collaboration between states and regional organizations.

Gorbachev Likely To Propose Arms Control Plan

LD0807213588 Hamburg DPA in German
2037 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—Soviet party leader Mikhail Gorbachev is likely to put forth a new proposal concerning conventional disarmament at the Warsaw Pact summit scheduled for Friday and Saturday (15-16 July), General G. Batenin, disarmament expert of the Soviet party leadership, said at a press conference in Warsaw on Friday in response to relevant questions that it is possible that Gorbachev "will make a proposal in this direction." He refused to give details.

Gorbachev is expected in Warsaw on Monday. Following an official state visit to Poland, he will chair in the Polish capital a Warsaw Pact summit on Friday and Saturday. Diplomatic circles in Warsaw disclosed that Gorbachev could take the opportunity of his Warsaw visit to make a proposal which takes up the Jaruzelski Plan of gradual nuclear and conventional disarmament in central Europe.

Affected by the Polish plan are the GDR, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, the FRG, the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, and Denmark. The Czechoslovak plan for creating a zone of trust and goodneighborly cooperation in central Europe could also be a possible model.

Bulgarian Apparatus for Phobos Space Project

AU0707192288 Sofia BTA in English 1801 GMT 1 Jul 88

["On Bulgaria's Participation in the 'Phobos' Project"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, July 7 (BTA)—Two Bulgarian systems will be aboard the ship for research of Mars' satellite. The apparatus and the scientific programme of the ship have been prepared by the European Space Agency. The two Bulgarian systems are: the videospectrometer complex "Fregat" and a laser impulse mass analyser, "Lima-D".

"Fregat" will secure the permanent monitoring of Phobos. The system will directly transmit a video image to the earth. Along with the scientific aims, the "Fregat" system has also navigational tasks related to the monitoring of the space around Phobos. The television system will record pictures which will be transmitted telemetrically to the earth for several months.

"Fregat" has been developed at the institute for Space Research at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences in cooperation with scientific and production enterprises from Varna, Shumen and Pleven.

"Lima-D" is an analyser of the elemental and isotope composition of the soil on Phobos. It has been developed by scientists from the city of Kurdzhali, southern Bulgaria.

Zhivkov Speaks at Cosmonauts' Luncheon

AU0607080188 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 2 Jul 88 pp 1, 2

[Speech delivered by Todor Zhivkov at official luncheon given on 1 July at the Boyana Residence in Sofia in honor of the Bulgarian-Soviet cosmonauts' crew]

[Text] Dear Comrades Aleksandrov, Solovyev, and Savinykh; esteemed guests; comrades; I am happy to express the joy and pride of the Bulgarian people at the successful accomplishment of the second Soviet-Bulgarian space flight.

Once again, with all my heart and soul, I congratulate you here in the capital of our homeland on the occasion of the worthily accomplished and highly responsible tasks in space, and on a successful return to mother earth. I congratulate you Comrade Aleksandrov, and you, Anatoliy Yakovlevich and Viktor Petrovich.

I take advantage of this highly emotional meeting once more to express our gratitude to the CPSU Central Committee, to the Soviet Government, and to the entire Soviet people for the opportunity provided for us and for the invaluable assistance accorded to us in making it possible to send a second Bulgarian crew of cosmonauts into space.

We admire the achievements of Soviet space science and technology. The Soviet Union generously lends its tremendous scientific and technical potential and its exceptionally valuable experience to other countries, so that they may participate in space flights.

We are filled with pride because Bulgarian scientists, experts, and workers are successfully participating in the development of space science and technology. As is known, for the second Soviet-Bulgarian space flight based on the Intercosmos program Bulgarian scientists and experts developed a series of original instruments and devices, with which valuable observations and experiments within the scientific-technical program could be implemented.

Comrades; every nation and every individual has a supreme achievement once in a lifetime. The Russian and Bulgarian peoples share a mountain peak which is common to both peoples and has become the symbol of their fraternity. It is the Shipka mountain peak.

"Shipka"—this is what your space program is called.

You defended your Shipka pass with honor.

We express our gratitude for this achievement and we are proud of you!

Since the day in which you faced the 290th Soviet rocket into space to the moment of your soft landing in the steppe of Kazakhstan, we, all of us, all citizens of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, were filled with emotion, sharing your excitement and rejoicing at your successes.

We would like to thank you for your manly courage and heroism, for the masterly skill and precision, for your calm and confidence.

Thank you, Comrade Savinykh and Comrade Solvyev, for being not only Aleksandur Aleksandrov's commander and board engineer, but also his loyal friends in space and on earth.

The cordial and fraternal relations which existed among you during the training and the flight are only part of the sacred friendship between our two peoples.

We are grateful to Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov as well, who have already been in orbit for 7 months, we thank them for the warm hospitality they accorded to the Soviet-Bulgarian crew on board the Mir orbital station.

Along with the space crew which participated in the flight, the standby crew, consisting of Comrades Vladimir Lyakhov, and Andrey Zaytsev, later replaced by Aleksandr Serebrov, and of the Bulgarian citizen Krasimir Stoyanov, carried out intense work. I would like to express our gratitude for their great industriousness and great competence, for the readiness they showed in their own training.

Dear Comrade Aleksandrov, our people welcome you as their worthy son. As standby for the first Soviet-Bulgarian space flight you have lived since that time with the dream of flying into space, and you mastered all the scientific knowledge, you accomplished all your theoretical and physical training to attain this glorious goal.

You pursued with honor the tradition of Bulgarian space flights. The motherland expresses its cordial gratitude to you and firmly embraces you.

Comrades; during these days the eyes of our people are directed toward the hall in which the 19th CPSU All-Union Conference is taking place. With special attention, we first heard and later read Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev's report and followed the statements of the delegates.

We can say with complete confidence: The 19th CPSU All-Union Conference will play a role of exceptional importance for the Soviet country and for the implementation of the decisive deeds which Lenin's party mapped out at its 27th Congress. This conference will represent a powerful impetus for the innovative processes in the socialist countries and will have a tremendous influence on the development of contemporary processes in the world, above all with the preservation of peace.

Courageously progressing in all spheres along the path of restructuring—this is the inspired and enthusiastic guideline of the conference.

Ardent approval, full political, ideological, and moral support, fraternal Bulgarian readiness to march side by side with the Soviet people—this is our response to the 19th CPSU All-Union Conference.

Comrades; as a sign of the highest appreciation for the second Soviet-Bulgarian space flight, the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria awards Bulgarian Cosmonaut Lieutenant Colonel Engineer Aleksandur Aleksandrov, as well as USSR Pilot-Cosmonaut Anatoliy Solovyev, and Pilot-Cosmonaut Viktor Savinykh with the honorary title: "Hero of the People's Republic of Bulgaria."

Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov, the Soviet cosmonauts, are presented with the Georgi Dimitrov Order.

The State Council presents the People's Republic of Bulgaria Order, First Class, to Captain Engineer Krasimir Stoyanov, and to the Soviet cosmonauts, Vladimir Lyakhov and Aleksandr Serebrov.

I congratulate you most sincerely on your high awards, dear comrades, and wish you even greater new successes in our highly responsible and noble work, and vigorous health and personal happiness for yourselves and your families.

May the fraternal friendship between Bulgarian and Soviet cosmonauts develop, strengthen, and be intensified.

May the successes in conquering outer space for the sake of peace and progress, for the happiness of all mankind, further increase and multiply.

Decree on Sheltered Work for AIDS Carriers

AU0807155088 Sofia BTA in English
1330 GMT 8 Jul 88

["AIDS Virus Carriers Humanely Treated"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, July 8 (BTA)—A special provision has been added to the body of Bulgarian labour laws concerning the sheltered employment of clinically healthy persons who have tested positive for the HIV virus. The idea is to prevent the harmful effects of the working environment on the health of the virus carriers.

An appendix to the ordinance says that the virus carriers should not be assigned to hard and harmful jobs involving the release of toxic chemicals which affect the immune system. The AIDS virus carriers may not work in enterprises using sources of ionizing radiation, electromagnetic fields, hard manual labour and hostilely cold or hot microclimates.

Virus carriers will be referred to sheltered employment resettlement by medical commissions, and the enterprises and the local councils will be obliged to comply with the referrals immediately.

A Council of Ministers decree on the matter, which appeared in today's issue of the official gazette, fixes the payment procedures for AIDS carriers in sheltered employment.

By the end of June, more than 830,000 people had been tested for the AIDS virus in this country. One of the two Bulgarians who have developed the full-blown symptoms of the disease died recently. Exposure to the HIV infection has been detected in 76 Bulgarians.

Further Reportage on USSR's Ryzhkov Visit

Hold Talks With Jakes

LD0807173088 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1600 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Text] Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, met today in Prague with Nikolay Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and Council of Ministers chairman. They exchanged views on a series of topical issues relating to the domestic situations in both countries, the development of cooperation between socialist states, and international relations.

Nikolay Ryzhkov described the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, confirming that the irreversibility of restructuring and democratization in the Soviet Union has initiated a new stage in its development.

In this connection, Milos Jakes stated that our party and public have followed the Soviet Communists' deliberations with exceptional interest. The results of the conference have international significance and are a great inspiration for strengthening positive changes in the political, economic, and social life not only in the Soviet Union, but also in Czechoslovakia and the other socialist countries.

Both officials exchanged views and information on the implementation of the conclusions of the 17th CPCZ Congress and the 27th CPSU Congress. The main aim of economic and social restructuring on the basis of strengthening socialist democracy, they noted, is to speed up the socio-economic development of society and bring about the conditions in which to better satisfy the people's material and spiritual needs. A vital prerequisite for the successful implementation of the tasks mapped out, is the leading role of the party, its fighting spirit, unity and cohesion, and its close association with the people.

Milos Jakes and Nikolay Ryzhkov pointed out that the changes in Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union have, in many respects, a similar character and common goals. That creates favorable conditions for advancing all-round cooperation and friendship between our fraternal countries. In this context, attention was paid to the results of the 44th CEMA session. The need to consistently implement the decisions reached; make faster progress in restructuring systems; and use new forms and methods of economic, scientific, and technical cooperation between socialist states was stressed.

Going on to review the international political situation, Milos Jakes and Nikolay Ryzhkov noted with satisfaction that the new political thinking championed by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries is helping to create a more favorable atmosphere in international relations, and they highlighted the need for a unified approach by socialist states, broadly based cooperation between those states and the democratic movement, as well as with realistic political forces throughout the world in the effort to create a comprehensive system of international security. They stressed the importance of continuing dialogue at summit level between the Soviet Union and the United States, and expressed the hope for a successful conclusion of the Vienna follow-up meeting as well as the interest of their countries in positive developments at the Geneva Conference on Disarmament.

The meeting took place in a cordial and comradely atmosphere, and featured a total identity of views on the issues discussed.

Holds News Conference

LD0807221888 Prague Television Service in Czech 1730 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Text] Comrade Nikolay Ryzhkov met Czechoslovak and foreign journalists at Prague's Intercontinental Hotel early this evening. He briefed them on the course of his visit and on the just completed 44th CEMA session. He praised the open discussion at the session and said, among other things, that one of the prospective forms of further cooperation is joint enterprises. The USSR has so far set up 50 of them; however, only 10 of these are with the socialist states. Comrade Ryzhkov termed this a significant reserve. On the results of his visit to Czechoslovakia, he said that concrete possibilities were found to create joint Czechoslovak-Soviet enterprises in engineering and electrotechnical industries as early as this year. Comrade Ryzhkov then responded to answered journalists' questions.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified interviewer] Comrade Chairman, the fall of contractual prices negatively influences the exchange of goods between our countries; it is becoming evident that the value of Soviet exports to Czechoslovakia is falling. Did you and Comrade Strougal discuss the question of supplies to our countries' internal markets, above all of consumer goods, and did you reach any actual results?

[Ryzhkov in Russian fading into Czech translation] I have already talked in my address about my views on prices, and I think that it is necessary to take a radical approach to this question, because the current pricing system sometimes truly contradicts common sense. You asked, specifically about Czechoslovakia: Yes, today we are really seeing the unbalanced nature of our economic relations with Czechoslovakia. But why is it so? It is not because the USSR is supplying Czechoslovakia with fewer products than it did 3 or 4 years ago. On the contrary—we are supplying more products. But the fact is that our prices are being created with a 5-year span on the level of world prices. The time has arrived when we are beginning to feel the reduction of fuel and power resource prices. That is why, while having bigger and not smaller deliveries, the USSR now has a negative balance. That is to say that the USSR is beginning to be indebted

to the CSSR. Comrade Strougal and I have discussed these matters. We think that it is a temporary phenomenon. And we, as good partners and good friends, must find a solution to this issue. We have roughly drafted the solution to this question. We must further coordinate our relations in consumer goods production. Then, deliveries can be made both to Czechoslovakia and to the USSR. Yes, we did discuss this question. [end recording]

Discusses USSR Economic Issues

LD0807224688 Prague Television Service in Slovak 2000 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Text] Economic questions, above all in connection with the recent 19th Party Conference, were discussed at today's press conference with Nikolay Ryzhkov in Prague:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified interviewer] At your party conference, Comrade Chairman, you discussed solutions to the problem of the so-called state orders by which your central organs lead your state enterprises by the old path of fulfillment of plans. How are you going to continue fulfilling this task?

[Ryzhkov in Russian fading into Slovak translation] Prior to and during the 19th All-Union Conference a lot of attention was paid to state orders and their shortcomings. Yes, we indeed have considerable shortcomings in this matter. Comrade Gorbachev also mentioned this in his address and it was included in the appropriate resolution of the 19th All-Union Conference. Our press writes about it daily. Naturally, there are certain reasons that is so, but I would not like to lose time now by explaining them. Above all, I would like to say there are possibilities for improvement.

We have now worked out a system to improve the situation. In our opinion it is the key solution which on the one hand will make it possible to grant enterprises greater economic freedom and on the other hand, enable these enterprises to fulfill state orders. Therefore, they are divided in order to satisfy all of society. That is the most important thing. A lot of people think that a state order will concern, for example, only defense technology. But they are wrong. We also consider clothes for people—simply ready-made clothes, for example, a state order. We must protect society's interests. We have worked out a number of points on this issue. We believe that it will help us solve this problem entirely. I would also like to add that since the beginning of January we have been working in a new economic environment and in new conditions—that is the experiment is lasting 6 months, and that is why we don't hide the existence of shortcomings. But they must be eliminated. I am very glad that the conference pointed these shortcomings out. So did the discussion. What does this prove? If everything went through quietly and smoothly, people would hardly believe that we are carrying out radical economic reform. The radical and new—these must eliminate the old practices on which we were based for dozens of years. Radical reform in particular reveals those shortcomings which were hindering us, and it is our task to find a solution to the problem, which is what we are doing. [end recording]

Discusses 1968, Troops in CSSR

LD0807195688 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1930 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Text] As we have already reported, Nikolay Ryzhkov gave a news conference today for Czechoslovak and foreign journalists, at which he spoke about the 44th CEMA session and his talks with the highest Czechoslovak representatives. He also answered journalists' questions.

Some Western journalists asked Nikolay Ryzhkov questions about the possible rehabilitation of Alexander Dubcek, a reassessment of the events in 1968 in Czechoslovakia, and the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia. To these questions, Nikolay Ryzhkov replied that the CPCZ had evaluated the events of 1968; this evaluation was an objective one and the Soviet leadership agrees with it.

The presence of the Soviet Army in Czechoslovakia cannot be taken out of the European context. Why do you speak only about this country, Nikolay Ryzhkov asked. How many foreign armies are there in Western Europe? It is our firm conviction, Comrade Ryzhkov continued, that the question of troops—units of the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union and others—deployed on the territory of other countries must be resolved sooner or later. At the UN General Assembly, the Soviet Union proposed eliminating all military bases on foreign territories by the end of the century. It has also frequently proposed speeding up the process of reducing the level of armed forces in Europe. The Soviet units in Czechoslovakia are part of the Warsaw Pact troops and they are included in their number. If we can agree on radical cuts in troops, this problem will also be eliminated, Nikolay Ryzhkov stressed at the news conference.

Received by Husak

LD0807201388 Prague CTK in English 1757 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Text] Prague July 8 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak received here today Soviet Premier Nikolay Ryzhkov who is paying an official friendly visit to Czechoslovakia.

The Czechoslovak and Soviet statesmen pointed out the achieved level and dynamic development of bilateral relations, developing in the spirit of the treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance and in harmony with the conclusions of the discussions of the two countries' supreme representatives.

They stressed that Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union have a common aim—to make use of all potentials of socialism and raise it to a higher level. Gustav Husak and Nikolay Ryzhkov underlined in this connection the significance of a consistent realization of the economic reform together with the deepening of democratization of the social life. They also stressed the importance of a much broader application of new forms of cooperation, especially direct relations between enterprises and organizations, creation of joint ventures and better quality of the mechanism of economic, scientific and technological cooperation for mutual economic coordination. This tendency is at the same time in full harmony with the aims of the just concluded 44th CMEA session here which adopted significant decisions concerning an effective division of labour, deepening of integration and creation of a common market, the Czechoslovak and Soviet representatives stressed.

Strougal, Ryzhkov Dinner Speeches

LD0807204588 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1800 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Text] Lubomir Strougal, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and federal premier, and his wife gave a gala dinner this evening in the Cernin Palace in Prague in honor of Nikolay Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers, and his wife. Also attending the dinner were: Ladislav Adamec, member of the party Central Committee Presidium and Czech premier; Jozef Lenart, member of the Presidium and secretary of the party Central Committee; and other political and public figures. Also on the Soviet side were Aleksey Antonov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and other members of Nikolay Ryzhkov's delegation.

Lubomir Strougal and Nikolay Ryzhkov made dinner speeches.

Lubomir Strougal recalled the recent 19th All-Union Party Conference and its significance—not only for the Soviet Union, but also for everyone who cares about the destiny of socialism. The peoples of Czechoslovakia, are deeply captivated by the exhortations heard in the Moscow Kremlin. Czechoslovakia does not intend to stop half-way—it will also go down the road of reform and democratization, because it has no alternative either. Lubomir Strougal described economic cooperation with the Soviet Union as undoubtedly decisive and completely irreplaceable for Czechoslovakia. If we are to expand and modernize this cooperation, we must undertake joint ventures on the widest possible scale. The Czechoslovak Government will rigorously demand that words be translated into action, just as Comrades Jakes and Borgachev specified at their meeting in January. On international issues, the Czechoslovak premier noted that a new policy of common sense is currently being promoted in the world. This is the only correct viewpoint for dealing with international disputes, and most governments eventually prefer negotiation to confrontation. He positively assessed the improved relations between the USSR and the United States which bear a special degree of responsibility for ensuring that a global conflict does not occur. He spoke highly of the signing of the INF Treaty, and expressed the hope that equal success would soon be achieved in strategic weapons. Nikolay Ryzhkov's visit to Czechoslovakia and his talks with Czechoslovak officials should contribute to the path of exploration [hledani], which the working-class movement, socialism, and Europe is travelling, Lubomir Strougal stressed in conclusion.

In his speech at the gala dinner in the Cernin Palace, Nikolay Ryzhkov noted that the 19th All-Union Party Conference in Moscow has received a very lively and comradely response in Czechoslovakia. He voiced the conviction that it had already had a very favorable impact on Soviet-Czechoslovak relations and would continue to do so. At the conference, the CPSU had worked out a political policy statement on all the fundamental issues of restructuring. It declared its firm interest in ensuring the irreversibility of restructuring through democratization, economic reform, and reshaping the political system. Restructuring, however, also means new political thinking based on the impossibility of solving international disputes militarily, Nikolay Ryzhkov emphasized. The Soviet people, he declared, highly value Czechoslovakia's active foreign political activity and actively support Milos Jakes's plan for creating a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations along the line dividing the Warsaw Pact and NATO states. The recently ended 44th CEMA session was very important for cooperation between socialist states, Nikolay Ryzhkov said. The jointly worked out and adopted concept for economic and scientific and technical cooperation at that session will form the basis for further dividing labor between CEMA member countries, Nikolay Ryzhkov stressed in his speech at the gala dinner at Cernin Palace.

Arrives in Bratislava

LD0807212088 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1930 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Text] Nikolay Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, is paying an official, friendly visit to our country. He arrived in the Slovak capital today.

He is accompanied by Lubomir Strougal, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and federal premier, and Viktor Lomakin, Soviet ambassador to the CSSR. The guests' special plane, festively decorated with the two countries' state flags, landed at Bratislava airport shortly after 2100.

Comrade Ryzhkov was cordially welcomed by Ignac Janak, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee; Peter Colotka, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and Slovak premier; Miloslav Hruskovic,

candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and secretary of the CPSL Central Committee; Viliam Salgovic, member of the CPSL Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Slovak National Council; and other personalities. Also present was Petr Kostikov, Soviet consul general in Bratislava.

Nikolay Ryzhkov was cordially greeted by Bratislavan citizens gathered at the airport. He and our representatives then left for the town center.

Meets With Slovak Officials

LD0907105188 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1000 GMT 9 Jul 88

[Text] Nikolay Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, chairman of the Council of Ministers, is continuing his official friendly visit to Czechoslovakia today. This morning he met representatives of Slovak party and state organs at Bratislava Castle. The meeting was attended by Lubomir Strougal, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and federal premier.

Ignac Janak, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, briefed the Soviet guest about the dynamic development of Slovakia in socialist Czechoslovakia and about the tasks in the process of restructuring and democratization of our society. Nikolay Ryzhkov reported on the conclusions of the recent 19th All-Union CPSU Conference which provided new impulses for profound revolutionary changes in Soviet society.

Accompanied by Lubomir Strougal and the highest representatives of Slovakia, Nikolay Ryzhkov then laid a wreath at the memorial of the members of the Red Army who laid down their lives in liberating our country and also honored the memory of the Slovak National Uprising by laying a wreath at the momument at Slovak National Uprising Square.

Addresses Dinner With Colotka

LD0907170188 Prague CTK in English 1511 GMT 9 Jul 88

[Text] Bratislava July 9 (CTK)—Slovak Premier Peter Colotka said today that the current talks of Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov in Czechoslovakia were a major step towards the promotion of Czechoslovak-Soviet cooperation and its raising to a qualitatively higher level corresponding to the revolutionary times.

In Slovakia, he said at a dinner given in Czechoslovakia's eastern republic for the Soviet guest, we, similarly as Soviet friends, were tried by tests and made mistakes which, however, cannot cast doubt on the correctness of the historical choice of our nations to follow the revolutionary Leninist path. This is why we are paying attention with a deep interest to perestroyka, to the development of socialist democracy, to glasnost and the effort of Soviet Communists to raise socialism to a qualitatively higher level.

The premier said that twenty years ago, the Czechoslovak Communist Party and society had also sought the possibilities of making fuller use of the potentials of socialism but at that time right-wing and counter-revolutionary forces had wanted to capitalize on this healthy effort and attacked the foundations of socialism with the aim to tear Czechoslovakia out of the socialist community and reverse the development back towards capitalism.

In the present restructuring it is decisive that it is taking place on the initiative of the Communist Party which is its motor and a guarantee that there will be no deviation from the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Similarly with the Soviet comrades, we link the restructuring of the economic mechanism to the development of socialist democracy so that the possibilities for the assertion and development of the creative potentials of people, in which promoting the status of the workers as the managers, creators and users of values, Peter Colotka said.

He noted that in this effort inspiration will continue to be drawn from the fraternal socialist countries, mainly the Soviet Union, and their experiences used.

Soviet Premier Nikolay Ryzhkov told his Slovak hosts that the experiences of the Slovak Socialist Republic as an inseparable part of the Czechoslovak national economic complex and at the same time as a national repblic were highly interesting for the Soviet Union.

The successes of the socialist countries in all spheres are well-known, the Soviet premier said. At the same time world socialism finds itself in a complex period and at a turning point the essence of which is a changeover to a qualitatively new level of development. The 19th Soviet Communist Party Conference objectively showed this.

He noted that negative processes hampering integration can be observed in the economic cooperation of the socialist countries and restructuring is therefore a priority. It is also urgent to modernize the production base.

The time of deep changes has thus come in the fraternal countries' cooperation. All are obliged to restructure the mechanism of socialist integration, apply new methods of cooperation, naturally on a fully voluntary basis, in joint search for the ways of increasing effectiveness.

The conclusions of the 44th CMEA session, which ended two days ago, will be of great importance for the acceleration of integration and also for the extension of

cooperation. The implementation of these conclusions will enable all socialist countries to make full use of the advantages of international cooperation.

There is no field of life at present in which the favourable influence of restructuring and democratization would not be apparent and in which conditions would not be created for renewal and progress. We are convinced that this applies also to Soviet-Czechoslovak relations and to the cooperation of all socialist countries to the same extent, Nikolay Ryzhkov stated.

Joint Communique Issued

LD0907170788 Prague CTK in English 1527 GMT 9 Jul 88

["Main Parts From Czechoslovak-Soviet Communique"—CTK headline]

[Text] Prague July 9 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Premier Lubomir Strougal and his Soviet colleague Nikolay Ryzhkov exchanged information on the course of restructuring and democratization of the social and political life in their countries during their talks here this week, a joint communique said today.

The communique, covering Nikolay Ryzhkov's visit on July 4 and 8-9, noted that they also dealt with the implementation of the plans of socio-economic development laid down by the two countries' Communist Party congress and reviewed the state and prospects of Czechoslovak-Soviet cooperation in the economic, scientific-technological and other spheres. Views were also exchanged on topical issues of the situation in Europe and the world.

The Czechoslovak side was informed of the results of the 19th Soviet Communist Party Conference, which showed the contradictions and complexities of the initial stage of restructuring in the Soviet Union and unanimously approved the party line of restoring the Leninist principles of party work. The results of the conference receive support from the broad masses of the Czechoslovak people and are an inspiration for the solution of the demanding tasks of the construction of socialism in Czechoslovakia.

Both sides noted that the changes taking place in the two countries have much in common and open new prospects for the development of Czechoslovak-Soviet cooperation and an increase in its effectiveness.

The communique noted that Czechoslovak-Soviet cooperation was ever more diversified and with a new content. The jointly prepared concept of Czechoslovak-Soviet economic and scientific-technological cooperation for 15-20 years is to give a new impetus to the process of integration of the two countries' national economies.

The two countries confirmed their endeavour to actively help the consistent implementation of the conclusions of the 44th CMEA session, the restructuring of the CMEA mechanism of cooperation and of bilateral economic relations and the creation of necessary conditions for the step-by-step formation of a common market of the socialist countries.

Full agreement of views on the assessment of the situation in the world was confirmed in the discussion of international issues. Special importance of the Moscow meeting between CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. President Ronald Reagan was stressed.

The Czechoslovak side voiced full support to the principled and at the same time flexible policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state which has yielded the first positive results primarily in the Soviet-U.S. intermediate-range nuclear forces treaty.

Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union consider it an important task of the present time to achieve a Soviet-U.S. treaty reducing strategic offensive weapons by 50 percent, with the observance of the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty by both sides for an agreed period. In the long term, the two states' effort should be aimed at a step-by-step liquidation of nuclear weapons.

Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union stressed the urgency of working out a mandate for an early start of talks on the reduction of troop strengths and conventional armaments in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals, the communique said. The military potentials should be cut to the level of defence sufficiency.

Both sides called for an early conclusion of the Vienna follow-up meeting with meaningful political results. The Soviet side underscored the importance of the Czechoslovak proposal to call an all-European economic forum. Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union support the development and promotion of economic and scientific-technological cooperation in Europe and welcome the establishment of official relations between the CMEA and the EEC.

They attach great importance to the implementation of the Warsaw states' peace initiatives. The Soviet side highly praised the comprehensive initiative, presented by Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes, for the creation of a zone of confidence, cooperation and good-neighbour relations on the borderline between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO states, and stressed the importance of the practical implementation of this comprehensive initiative.

Nikolay Ryzhkov gave information on the political solution of the Afghanistan situation and the systematic violation of the undertakings by Pakistan.

Both countries voiced support for the process of national reconciliation in Kampuchea and welcomed the decision of the governments of Vietnam and Kampuchea on the withdrawal of half of the Vietnamese military contingent in 1988. Serious concern was expressed at the situation in the Middle East, in Central America and in the south of Africa.

The premiers stressed the urgent need for the solution of global problems connected with environmental protection and with the rational use of natural resources.

Interviewed on Visit

LD0907212788 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 9 Jul 88

[Interview with Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, by Editor Ladislav Balko prior to his departure from Bratislava on 9 July—recorded; Ryzhkov in Russian with superimposed Slovak translation]

[Text] [Balko] During your visit to our homeland, Comrade Chairman of the Council of Ministers, you visited several enterprises in the Czech and Slovak Socialist republics, for instance Skoda, the Kotva departmental store, and our front-ranking unified agricultural cooperative at Sala, where you were briefed on the fulfillment of economic tasks and talked to the working people. What is your brief assessment of this visit?

[Ryzkhov] I have good impressions from enterprises, plants, and other meetings during my visit. What could I stress specifically? In the first place, the dynamic development of your industrial and good forms of work. I recall, for instance, the unified agricultural cooperative at Sala, which we visited today where in my view a very attractive form exists, lying in the fact that most of the profit comes from agricultural production itself and a portion from auxiliary production, that is from production other than agricultural. Overall I believe that this, too, helps to improve the living standards of your workers. It is clear that each country has its shortcomings. You will not find anywhere that all problems have been resolved. But it is clear that the living standards of the Czechoslovak people are improving.

[Balko] Our central party daily, RUDE PRAVO, published an interview with you under the telling headline "We could do more in our mutual relations". By improving the economic mechanism we can, as you significantly said, give further impetus to our cooperation. This has also undoubtedly characterized your talks with our party and state representatives.

[Ryzhkov] This week I had the opportunity to have talks with leading representatives of the party, state, and government, as well as with management officials of individual enterprises. We had interesting talks with Comrades Jakes and Husak; the dialogue with Comrade Strougal continued. The conclusion of these talks is in my view the sole one: We need greater integration. According to all indications the current development, in particular economic development, cannot exist in some kind of vacuum. This is why the premise that no country can do everything on its own applies both to Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union. How to integrate and combine our efforts—this is what I perceive to be the main thing and this is on what we have to focus our attention.

I believe that there are enormous opportunities to resolve these questions for instance the Duslo works at Sala, which I visited, produces chemicals which I know both you and we had to buy in the West previously. Now we ourselves are producing them. And other issues can be tackled similarly. After all, the 44th CEMA session devoted itself to this during the past few days in Prague, where we considered these issues very seriously while discussing the concept of the further development of the international division of labor.

[Balko] You have already said, Comrade Chairman of the Council of Ministers, that cardinal changes and transformations are being carried out in both our countries. Although we are only at the beginning it is possible to say in which area in particular we ought to step up the pace.

[Ryzkhov] As is known, the 19th All-Union Party Conference ended in our country, the Soviet Union, last week. It discussed the results achieved in restructuring during the past 3 years, assessed both the positive and negative phenomena that exist, and most importantly mapped out the further course of action in our progress. Naturally, when we tackle our internal problems, and one has to say that we still have enough of them, when we concern ourselves with restoring the economic life in our country or the life of the whole of our community we always try to find positive experiences also in other countries, and above all in the socialist community. In this we strive to familiarize ourselves both with positive and negative experiences. The point is to make sure that those mistakes which anyone of us commits are not repeated. This is why I believe that we must learn above all one from another. We must concern ourselves with economic reform in particular.

The talks with Comrade Strougal confirmed that we have similar aims in regard to economic reform. True, there exist small differences, particular features, which is only natural. After all, we have different traditions, different industry, and the like, but the direction is the same. We believe that in the economic field above all we can find many interesting and beneficial things for the good of both countries..

I do not believe, however, that everything rests on economic reform alone. One needs to take a look at other areas of public life. All these aspects need a detailed analysis and must, naturally, be brought closer to the real conditions existing in each country.

CEMA Session Delegation Steps Approved

LD0807140888 Prague CTK in English
1333 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Text] Prague July 8 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Communst Party Presidium and the federal government today approved the steps taken by the Czechoslovak delegation at the 44th session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) and said that Czechoslovakia must continue to be active in the organization.

The Presidium and the government fully agreed with the CMEA session's evaluation of the conclusions of the 19th All-Union Conference of the Soviet Communist Party which they believe to be positively influencing the further development of cooperation within the council.

The CMEA session confirmed again the importance of cooperation and socialist economic integration of the CMEA member states, the Presidium and the government said and stressed the need to restructure the mechanism of this cooperation and integration. They also stressed the extraordinary significance of the documents adopted by the CMEA session.

Voicing agreement with the CMEA session's assessment of the international situation, the Presidium and the government emphasized anew the importance of the results attained so far in the dialogue between the Soviet Union and the United States for the strengthening of confidence and peace and in the world. They further agreed with the session's conclusion that the normalization of relations between CMEA and the European Economic Community and the establishment of official relations between the individual CMEA states and the European communities is a major contribution to the implementation of the Helsinki Final Act and improvement of the political climate in Europe and the world.

SED-SPD Proposal for Zone of Confidence Plan

LD0707142988 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1034 GMT 7 Jul 88

["Proposal for a 'Zone of Confidence and Security in Central Europe'"—ADN headline]

[Text] Bonn, 7 Jul (ADN)—The text of the proposal for a zone of confidence and security in Europe is as follows:

1. The Changes of Further Disarmament Measures in Europe. [subhead]

1.1 After the coming into force of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, the historic opportunity must be used to overcome the old thinking in categories of military confrontation and deterrence and to create an international order of peace which gives all states equal security. The agreement must not be circumvented by new armament measures: We reject the concept of compensation. The process of disarmament and detente must be made lasting and irreversible.

1.2. Only the removal of military confrontation opens up the real possibility for developing a European system of joint security and all-around cooperation. The SED and the SPD share the views of those political forces which want to continue the process of disarmament and give it dynamism.

This applies particularly to Europe and its central region, which has the greatest concentration of forces and weapons. In this connection both parties renew their demand that a mandate should be agreed upon for negotiations in Vienna before the end of this year on the reduction of troops and conventional forces in Europe.

The aim of these negotiations should be to achieve stability at a significantly lower level from the Atlantic to the Urals by means of substantial reductions of forces and the removal of conventional superiorities.

1.3. At the same time further efforts should be made for the removal of weapons of mass destruction in Europe, particularly tactical nuclear weapons. The creation of a stable situation of secure peace in central Europe, in which no nuclear or chemical weapons are left in the region and neither side—with the maintenance of an adequate defense potential—has the conventional means for a surprise attack, for aggressive operations, or actions aimed at conquering or temporary occupation of territories, is the subject of discussions by the joint SED/SPD working group on security policy issues.

1.4. Negotiations at government level do not relieve political parties in the East or the West of the responsibility to promote the disarmament process through their own proposals and ideas. The joint SED/SPD working group will, in this respect, work from its proposals on a chemical weapons-free zone and a nuclear-free corridor. Their further development into a zone of stability and of structural incapacity to attack is in the interests of the European states and of the two alliances.

1.5. The separation of military potentials capable of attack from the line of contact of the two military alliances would be a step toward reducing the danger of surprise attacks and of the offensive capacity of forces. The reduction of forces in cohesive units with their structural conventional weaponry, and the reduction and final removal of tactical nuclear weapons mean more security for all the states in the alliance, above all if this zone of less concentrated weaponry is to be embedded within agreements on stability for central Europe and for the whole of Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals.

The joint working group is continuing its discussions on principles and criteria of European stability on the basis of a structural incapacity to attack. In doing so, the joint working group takes account of the CSSR's proposal for a zone of confidence and cooperation and the joint declaration of the SPD and the PZPR on confidence-building security services in Europe, which go beyond the aim of structural incapacity for attack only within the corridor.

2. For More Confidence and Security in Europe [subhead]

2.1 Experience with the Stockholm document shows that confidence-building measures can be implemented in the short term, and that their politically stabilizing effect comes into play even before the conclusion of an agreement on the reduction of forces.

2.2 The CSCE states want confidence-building measures to reduce the risk of an outbreak of war, among other things as a result of a mistake or a misunderstanding, through the mutual exchange of information, openness, and predictability. They are militarily significant, politically binding, verifiable, and applicable from the Atlantic to the Urals.

2.3 As permanent arrangements for mutual communication on maneuvers and other events which could lead to misunderstandings, there have existed up to now direct links between Washington and Moscow and between Paris and Moscow ("hotlines"), and also the "centers for the reduction of nuclear risk" in Washington and Moscow, which came into operation 22 March 1988.

2.4 The European states, particularly in the danger zone along the dividing line between the alliances, have a direct responsibility to their citizens to do what they can within the framework of their sovereignty and alliance commitments to secure peace and stability. There also arises from this their interest in avoiding crises through their own cooperative measures and in directly removing errors or misunderstandings themselves, before they become an international crisis.

This end could be served by European institutions and measures such as those proposed by various parties at the Stockholm conference. Their aim of creating confidence through transparency, shared information, and verification is appropriate to accompany and promote disarmament and stability.

3. Our Proposal [subhead]

3.1 We put before the governments of the CSCE states the following proposals for a zone of confidence and security in central Europe and recommend the Governments of the FRG and the GDR take corresponding initiatives.

3.2 In order to create this zone of confidence and security, measures are necessary which convince both sides that irrespective of the still existing capacities there is no intention to launch a surprise attack.

These could include:

A) Expansion of the agreements reached in Stockholm:

—Through the further reduction of the lower limit in the number of soldiers and tanks for notifiable maneuvers with a notification deadline of 60 days;

—By the inclusion of issues (discussed without any result in Stockholm) of the notification of independent maneuvers of air and sea-based forces for further confidence building, with regard to size and regionalization;

—Maneuvers with more than 40,000 soldiers will no longer take place. This also applies to series of maneuvers and emergency practices;

—Observers are invited to all notified maneuvers.

B) Over and above this:

—The number of maneuvers which take place outside troop training grounds and create burdens for the civilian population are to be limited;

—Notifiable maneuvers under the terms of this proposal will no longer take place within an area of, for example, 50km on both sides of the border between the two alliances.

These confidence-building measures are proposals which must be discussed and voted on with all the states involved.

C) The central European states are to set up permanent 'Centers for Confidence-Building.' Their task would be to exchange militarily relevant information and observation data, in order to enable the governments involved to prevent crises in central Europe or to settle them by political means. The centers would all have the same technical equipment and would be in direct contact. They would be staffed by representatives and experts from all the countries involved.

D) Military experts of the relevant states will be given the task of agreeing on details for permanent, mixed observation posts at strategically important points; their results would be communicated to the 'Centers for Confidence-Building.'

All these states would exchange military attaches.

E) The aim is to create a joint European satellite observation post, the data from which would be communicated to all 'Centers for Confidence-Building' simultaneously. It would also conceivably be an instrument for all the CSCE states. Thus, its results would be available to all the European states, the United States, and Canada.

F) Additionally, direct bilateral links ("hotlines") will be created between the central European states. In the event of worries or incidents they permit swift communications between governments.

The SED and the SPD regard the proposal for a "zone of confidence and security in central Europe" as a supra-alliance political initiative, open to expansion and more precise formulation, and open to all CSCE states. It is in line with their conviction that this is the way to demonstrate possibilities for ensuring additional stability and peace on the long path to creating a zone of confidence in Europe which embraces not only security but also confidence through comprehensive cooperation.

Bonn Demands 'All or Nothing' From Disarmament
AU0807150088 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 7 Jul 88 p 2

["He." commentary: "Intentional Gibberish"]

[Text] FRG Defense Minister Scholz finds himself in an awkward situation. He made his chief of staff, Lieutenant General Clauss, make the following statement: The "decline of the feeling of threat" among the population has assumed "dramatic forms." The hostile image "is fading." And in addition to that, the FRG media have long reported that the strategy of "deterrence" mainly deters the FRG population. What the people really want is disarmament.

And what is Scholz doing? The minister, a dyed-in-the-wool advocate of nuclear "deterrence" founded on the lie about the threat, proceeds tactically. Of course he is in favor of disarmament. He is only against "too narrow approaches" in specific areas during future disarmament negotiations. For him it is a matter of observing the "compatibility of options." If one interprets this intentional gibberish, Scholz demands the simultaneousness

of all relevant decisions. To put it simply, he is "in favor" of disarmament—in accordance with the demagogical slogan: All or nothing.

What can be heard from Bonn points in a similar direction. Specific disarmament measures cannot be adopted before NATO has an overall concept. However, as FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE reported, such a concept "will not exist in the near future." This amounts to the following: Scholz and other NATO states want to delay, if not altogether prevent, further disarmament steps following the conclusion of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles.

But a policy aimed at all or nothing does not resolve any problems whatsoever. Those who oppose steps do not want to proceed on a path and arrive at a goal. Given these circumstances, it is not a coincidence, after all, that NATO has no overall concept....

Our concept is well known: Permit no pause after the introduction of disarmament! Reduce strategic offensive weapons by 50 percent. Halt nuclear tests. Ban chemical weapons—a chemical weapons-free zone would be a step in this direction. Reduce and ultimately remove tactical nuclear weapons—nuclear-free zones are steps in this direction. And the reduce armed forces and conventional arms, also gradually.

Those who object to such "initiatives in specific areas" knowingly neglect the fact that what is to obtain validity worldwide could be tested efficiently and quickly within a limited area, as in the case of tactical nuclear weapons. The only thing that can be proven by delaying tactics in the name of compatibility: Disarmament continues to require struggles. The resistance of those must be broken who want to stick to their arsenals and who continue to threaten mankind with a nuclear inferno.

Leaders' Public Appearances 30 June - 6 July

AU0807183888 [Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German from 1 to 7 July reports the following public appearances of GDR leaders (date of publication in parentheses):

Hermann Axen, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, received a Portuguese Communist Party study delegation headed by Angelo Veloso, member of the Central Committee Political Commission, in Berlin on 1 July. (2-3 July, p 2)

Hermann Axen attended a reception given by U.S. Ambassador Francis Joseph Meehan on to celebrate the 4th of July in Berlin on 1 July. (2-3 July, p 2)

Werner Eberlein, Politburo member and first secretary of the Magdeburg Bezirk leadership, put into service an air conditioning facility in the Zielitz potassium mine on 1 July. (2-3 July, p 2)

Werner Felfe, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, presented the order "Banner of Work" to the SED Central Committee institute for the training of functionaries of socialist agriculture in Schwerin on 1 July. (2-3 July, p 2)

Oskar Fischer, GDR minister of foreign affairs, held a speech at the sixth session of the People's Chamber in Berlin on 30 June. (1 July, p 9)

Kurt Hager, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, chaired a session of the public education committee of the GDR People's Chamber in Berlin on 4 July. (5 July, p 2)

Guenther Kleiber, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, received FRG Transport Minister Juergen Warnke in Berlin on 30 June. (1 July, p 2)

Guenther Kleiber received Antonio Rodriguez Maurel, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba, in Berlin on 1 July. (2-3 July, p 2)

Werner Krolikowski attended a festive concert organized by the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War in Dresden on 6 July. (7 July, p 2)

Guenther Mittag, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, chaired a session of the industry, construction, and transport committee of the People's Chamber, in Berlin on 30 June. (1 July, p 10)

Gerhard Mueller, candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Erfurt Bezirk leadership, attended the 13th Best Workers Conference in Erfurt on 6 July. (7 July, p 2)

Guenter Schabowski, Politburo member and first secretary of the Berlin Bezirk leadership, visited the Alt-Stralau research center for biotechnology on 4 July. (5 July, p 8)

Gerhard Schuerer, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, and chairman of the State Planning Commission, received Le Danh, deputy chairman of the SRV State Planning Commission, in Berlin on 4 July. (5 July, p 2)

Harry Tisch, chairman of the FDGB Central Executive Council and member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, visited trade unionists in Schmalkalden and Suhl on 1 July. (2-3 July, pp 1,2) Harry Tisch laid the foundation stone for a new FDGB holiday home in Oberhof, Suhl, on 2 July. (4 July, p 4)

Romania Border Crossing Said 'Problem-Free'

LD1107101588 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0445 GMT 11 Jul 88

[From the "Morning Dialogue" program]

[Summary] Reporters at Nagylak and Gyula border crossing stations interview Hungarians who were travelling between Hungary and Romania this weekend. Some travellers got through without problems, but most speak of long delays, and some were turned back.

"According to the latest data from the border guard, in contrast to the more than 2,000 people who last weekend wanted to travel out, this weekend only 644 Hungarians wanted to cross the Hungarian-Romanian border. The Romanian authorities turned back nine Hungarian citizens, for one reason—they did not have international insurance documents for their car. Apart from these cases, the border traffic was problem-free."

Szuros Speaks in Spain on Problems With Romania

LD0307230488 Madrid Domestic Service in Spanish 1700 GMT 3 Jul 88

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Here is RNE correspondent Hector Arenas at Madrid-Barajas Airport:

The chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the parliament and an important man in the leadership of the Hungarian communist party, Matyas Szuros, arrived in Madrid this evening, having been invited by the Senate. He will be received by the prime minister and by leaders of political parties. In relation to the serious tension between his country—Hungary—and Romania at the moment because of President Ceausescu's government's plan to demolish 8,000 villages in the region of Transylvania, which would affect some 3 million Hungarians, the Hungarian Government and party leader said the following on his arrival at Barajas:

[Begin Szuros recording in Hungarian with Arenas' superimposed Spanish translation] This is something unusual between two countries belonging to the same Warsaw alliance but we are in favor of guaranteeing the human rights and the nationality rights of the Hungarians in Romania and we hope it will not turn into an international problem. We think—he added—that with an effort these problems could be normalized, but right now the situation is tense, but we believe we must continue to endeavor to resolve this problem through negotiation although there is no certainty of achieving this. We think—he said at another point- - that if there is concern in Spain about this problem being experienced on the Romanian-Hungarian border, then I think that objectively there may be a reciprocal solidarity [as heard]. [end recording]

Further on Szuros' Speech

LD0507223588 Madrid Domestic Service in Spanish 1200 GMT 5 Jul 88

[Text] A report now concerning Spain's foreign relations. Matyas Szuros, the Hungarian communist party's secretary for foreign relations, who is in our country on an official visit, was in the Senate this morning. There he referred to the tension between his country and Romania because of the Bucharest government's decision to destroy thousands of homes belonging to the Hungarian minority in the Transylvania region of Romania. Antonio Regalado reports from the Senate. Hello, Antonio Regalado. Hello, good afternoon. Good afternoon, go ahead:

[Regalado] Matyas Szuros, the secretary for foreign relations of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee, described as an unusual phenomenon the current tension between Bucharest and Budapest which is due to the pressure being brought to bear by Ceausescu's government on the minority of 2 million Magyars settled in Transylvania. Szuros, who has just had a meeting with President of the Senate Jose Federico de Carvajal, said that his country is not going to make territorial claims and that Romania systematically refuses dialogue, alleging it to be an internal problem. Matyas Szuros, who is also chairman of the Hungarian parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee, said at this meeting with the president of the Senate that Hungary will raise its voice in every international forum, especially those of the socialist area, against the destruction of 8,000 Romanian villages, mostly of Magyar origin, which will force mass concentrations and a forced assimilation infringing all human rights. Finally the Hungarian parliamentarian expressed support for Gorbachev's restructuring and announced that his country will shortly lift visa requirements for 17 countries, and at the same time he expressed pleasure about his country's excellent relations with Austria. He said relations with our country, with Spain, are very good.

Text of Budapest Demonstrators Memo To Romania

AU0807113588 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 2 Jul 88 p 5

["Full text" of the memorandum prepared by the organizers of the demonstration held in Budapest on 27 June and taken to the Romanian Embassy: "Memorandum"]

[Text] Your Excellency!

The Hungarian people are deeply concerned about the announcement made by the president of the Council of State of the SR of Romania according to which a broad territorial reorganization is to be carried out in Romania as a result of which the physical destruction of every

village with a population of less than 3,000, including a considerable number of Transylvanian Hungarian villages and villages of Hungarian-speaking natives of Moldavia, has been ordered.

Homes, churches, ancient cemeteries, the priceless material values of European and Hungarian culture, national and religious communities, and human destinies will become the victims of force and illegal destruction.

Carrying out its mission of peace and freedom for the peoples living in the Carpathian basin and fulfilling its European and Danube-area task deriving from its great state-founding king, St Stephen, with this Memorandum the Hungarian nation, with a statehood of almost 1,000 years, warns the Government of the SR of Romania and its state and political bodies that the implementation of the settlement reorganization plan, which aims to establish a Romanian national state free of minorities and which causes serious physical and spiritual damage to the national minority groups living in Romania, violates the international agreement on preventing and punishing genocide, an agreement reached on 9 December 1948 and also signed by Romania, and thus, this plan is illegal.

In accordance with this agreement, the Romanian Penal Code punishes severe cases of incitement to genocide, the attempt to carry out genocide, or complicity in this crime with death and confiscation of property.

We also remind Your Excellency that the SR of Romania is party to the New York Convention, the Agreement on Civil and Political Rights. Article 17 of this Agreement states that nobody may be subjected to arbitrary and illegal interference directed against his private life, family, or home.

In addition to the violation of Article 17, the implementation of the Romanian plan is also an open and brutal violation of Article 27 in the same agreement, which ensures the collective rights of national minorities.

The SR of Romania not only violates these stipulations but also repeatedly and deliberately disregards such generally accepted principles of international law and bilateral and multilateral international agreements as:

—Article 2 of the Hungarian-Romanian cultural cooperation agreement signed in Bucharest on 27 November 1947;

—Article 5 of the UNESCO agreement on combating discrimination in education signed on 14 December 1960;

—international responsibilities deriving from the Helsinki Final Act proposals on preserving national minorities and regional cultures.

Your Excellency! According to the preamble of the agreement on eliminating the statutory limitation of war crimes and crimes against humanity, effective punishment of war crimes and crimes against humanity is an important element in preserving international peace and security.

In its preamble, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights stipulates that recognition of the dignity of every member of the human race and of his equal and inalienable rights are the basis of freedom, justice, and peace in the world.

In its preamble, the Agreement on Civil and Political Rights stipulates that, in accordance with the principles of the UN Charter, recognition of the innate dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of every member of the human community is the basis of freedom, justice, and world peace.

The preamble to the agreement banning racial discrimination concludes that discrimination according to race, color, or ethnic origin among people hinders the friendly and peaceful relations among nations and can disturb peace and security among nations, and the understanding of individuals who live side by side in the same state.

These major agreements clearly express the position of the signatories that human rights and their application to national minorities are connected with the issues of world peace, cooperation among nations, and security. Consequently, the illegal activity under way in Romania involves Romanian obligations not only to the minorities directly affected but also to the entire international community. Thus, Romania is responsible not only to its Hungarian, German, and other minorities, but also has responsibilities toward the Romanian people and the international community.

Therefore, we demand that the Romanian authorities give up once and for all their plans to destroy villages! Halting the violations of the law committed so far, they should restore the schools, colleges, banned periodicals, theaters, and cultural institutions of the Hungarian, German, and other national minorities! They should restore the rights stipulated for in international agreements: the right of association, and the political, economic, social, and cultural rights of the national minorities! They should provide collective rights to the minorities as communities, including the right of political association to represent their interests, as well as their rights to establish independent educational and cultural institutions. They should give up this activity that threatens world peace!

We ask Your Excellency to convey our friendly good wishes to the Romanian people!

Budapest, 27 June 1988.

Signed by Istvan Csurka, Dr Laszlo Nagy, and Dr Zsolt Zetenyi, on behalf of the organizational committee.

Karpati Returns From Moscow, Makes Statement

LD0907040488 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Text] At their Moscow meeting the Warsaw Pact defense ministers affirmed their support for the Soviet-U.S. missile agreement signed in December and since ratified. The defense ministers at the same time warned that certain NATO circles were endeavoring to counterbalance the elimination of medium-range missiles by the modernization of other weapon systems.

On his return to Budapest, Colonel-General Ferenc Karpati, minister of defense, gave a statement to our correspondent. He said that the defense of socialism required the development of the joint armed forces. However, he also quoted the words of General Secretary Gorbachev, according to whom the stress has to be not on quantity but quality in the future. The minister of defense acknowledged that qualitative improvement required significant sums.

Geza Kotai Assesses Disarmament Proposals

LD0907151888 Budapest MTI in English 2001 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Text] Budapest, July 8 (MTI)—"Panorama" the world policy magazine of the Hungarian Television screened an interview with Geza Kotai, member of the Central Committee of the HSWP and head of the Foreign Affairs Department at the HSWP CC. Excerpts:

Question: 'In a conference held recently in Potsdam you stated that Hungary could be the experimental terrain of disarmament.'

Answer: 'It is true as far as conventional weapons and armaments are concerned. This reflects our endeavours and at the same time it fits well into the three-stage Soviet initiative disclosed at the latest summit in Moscow. The proposal on eliminating discrepancies by reductions could concern partly the foreign troops, that is the units of the Soviet Southern Army, deployed in Hungary, and perhaps our national force as well.'

Q: 'Is there any concrete plan for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary?'

A: 'I would remind you that it was the Soviet party who raised that by the end of the millenium all foreign troops deployed in Europe should be withdrawn. As the Soviet efforts in this respect coincide with the Hungarian endeavours that our country be among the first who these moves concern, the plan seems possible to concern us in the foreseeable future. This is what we are striving for and I would like to state that our Soviet friends, on the level of politics, handle the Hungarian endeavours with understanding. It is probably impossible to tell whether the finalization of the plan will concern solely the foreign troops or it will include only the national forces or perhaps both. Our aim, however, is that Hungary should be involved in the first stage of reduction.'

Q: 'Was this issue discussed at the latest Hungarian-Soviet summit in Moscow?'

A: 'It is obvious that at general secretarial meeting this issue is not discussed in detail. It was, however, unambiguously touched upon in the toast of Comrade Grosz, general secretary of our party and prime minister, as well as in the joint communique where our endeavours were received with understanding and the joint intentions reconfirmed even if indirectly by calling the reduction of conventional forces and armaments in Europe the most pressing task with respect to the peace and security of Europe.'

Q: 'What is the cause of asymmetry between the Warsaw Treaty Organization and the NATO in Europe?'

A: 'The fact that there is asymmetry in armament and certain fields of just defence, reflects excessive armament. It is not a secret, our Soviet friends and Soviet soldiers and marshalls also openly admit, that we have a 20,000 to 30,000 edge in tanks, while Western Europe has more fighter-bombers and helicopters. Asymmetry derives from this.'

Q: 'How does Western Europe receive these initiatives and the Hungarian proposal on the reduction of its national forces and of Soviet troops?'

A: 'With great interest and sympathy. At the same time we have to see that this policy is motivated by interests. As emphasis is laid upon mutuality it is not in the interest of the NATO or the NATO member states that this reduction takes place in Hungary. But I reiterate that they receive our endeavours with sympathy. Still we have a long way to go.'

Q: 'In our present economic situation we cannot afford to maintain our defence budget, let alone increase it. Some deputies at the latest session of the parliament said that they consider the approximately 40,000 million forints allocated for defence too much.'

A: 'That is relative. The 40,000 million forints for defence is about 7.6 per cent of the central budget. We have to meet the requirements in a reasonably sufficient way. We intend not to increase and if possible decrease this expenditure, but defence is expensive. All our political initatives, proposals, and efforts to realize our endeavours are aimed at establishing a situation in Europe or in central Eastern Europe where we could markedly reduce this almost 40,000 million forints. All our endeavours are aimed at this. I am optimistic and

think that the processes a.e developing in the direction that we can reduce our defence budget in proportion and perhaps also in volume,' said Geza Kotai to Hungarian television.

Defense Minister Interviewed on Pact Meeting

LD0907220288 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 9 Jul 88

[Text] The Warsaw Pact Treaty defense ministers met in Moscow this week. This was their second meeting in 6 months, although in the past entire years went by without the committee meeting. This also shows that in the socialist countries there have been significant changes in recent months in military policy as well; events have speeded up. Of course, there have been two Soviet-U.S. summits since their last meeting.

On his return from Moscow, Colonel-General Ferenc Karpati, defense minister, was interviewed by "168 Hours" correspondent Peter Zentay.

[Begin recording] [Zentay] Political and economic reform, openness in the press: these are dominant slogans in most of the Warsaw Pact Treaty member states. But do these reforms also motivate the military decision-makers? What was your experience in Moscow in this respect?

[Karpati] My personal impression from meeting the leaders of the Soviet Army, the Soviet defense minister, and all the other generals is that they act under the influence of the recent party conference. It forms the main topic of their conversation in all the meetings.

[Zentay] You mean the main topic is reform?

[Karpati] Reform, glasnost, restructuring. Naturally, we were also very interested in how they interpret these from the military point of view. Well, I also followed the Soviet party conference with great interest. First, the approach, the principle that the greatest possible economy must be introduced in the military sphere manifested itself here as well. However, not only in this respect have there been changes—not only in the military or economic area—but also in dealing with people.

[Zentay] By this you mean the recruits?

[Karpati] The head of the main political directorate said that they recognize many things now, in the era of restructuring; namely, significant changes must be carried out to create a freer atmosphere among officers and soldiers. Well, we were, of course, glad to hear this and we welcome it. We also have been working on this, but for a longer time. This will give us even greater inspiration and courage to advance in this respect.

[Zentay] As the communique revals, at the Moscow meeting you dealt with the military policy aspects of world political issues. Let me take this opportunity to ask: Did you discuss using our country as an experimental area for disarmament steps? What is your position on this question?

[Karpati] This question did not arise concretely in this form; after all, it was not on the agenda. The Soviet Government's initiative, proposal, which they advanced several times in recent weeks—that all forces stationed abroad should be withdrawn by the year 2000—is well known. This would apply to both sides of course, the Soviet Union as well as the United States and other countries which have military forces abroad. I think it does not depend on us when the time will come for this to take place. If NATO receives this proposal with a willingness to carry out this step on both sides—that is, mutually—then we Hungarian soldiers would naturally welcome this.

[Zentay] Also, we would be among the first countries where this is achieved.

[Karpati] Well, we would like this to be so. But whether this will come about depends on negotiations.

[Zentay] Would this idea apply not only to the Soviet forces but also to a reduction in the numbers of the Hungarian Army, that is, to a reduction in conventional military forces?

[Karpati] Well, it is known that a dialogue on this has begun between the Warsaw Pact Treaty and NATO. We would like this to lead to results as soon as possible. We have every interest in reducing the confrontation and the vast sums that have to be devoted to defense.

[Zentay] I saw on television that you sat in the National Assembly and listened to the speeches by the deputies who, so to speak, demanded heavy cuts in the defense budget.

[Karpati] I paid close attention to their speeches.

[Zentay] We did not hear the defense minister's reaction. Now here is your chance.

[Karpati] Yes, I did not have the chance to react there; they did not ask me these questions.

[Zentay] Were you sorry about that?

[Karpati] Well, no, not really, but had they asked me, I would naturally have responded. I understand perfectly well that in the present situation, the situation in Hungary, where for well known reasons we have a more difficult economic situation, in the National Assembly it was primarily the, shall we say, magnitude of the budget relating to health care and education that was criticized. This was compared by more than one deputy with

defense expenditures, saying that more was available for defense and that defense expenditures had increased this year as well by a little as compared to last year. I would also, of course, like there to be more available for health care, education, and many other things. Precisely because of this, we have stated on a number of occasions and are stressing that we pay great attention to the capacity of the country to bear burdens, to its possibilities, when planning military expenditures. We have introduced the strictest economy in every sphere, in ever respect.

[Zentay] But do you believe that this is as far as it can go because anything more would affect our defense capability?

[Karpati] Well, actually I just wanted to say that, unfortunately, this does not depend on us. We are in an alliance. We have been trying for a long, long time to end this arms race, this madness which developed in the world a long time ago.

[Zentay] In other words, you do not regard the present situation as suitable as yet.

[Karpati] In this respect, it can be said that we are not planning any increase this year or in the coming years. By this I mean the maintenance of the real value when I talk holding expenditures level.

At the same time, let me note that I have found that deputies and others as well interpret defense expenditures as military expenditures pure and simple. Yet we must include not only military expenditures under the heading of defense expenditures; the border guards also belong here. They perform a very considerable task in the normal handling of increased tourist traffic. Further, it is known that in our country as well, unfortunately, crime is on the increase and the police need to be strengthened: their resources must be developed. This also belongs here, so does the Workers Guard. All this together makes up the defense expenditures.

[Zentay] Yes, and since you have mentioned the border guards perhaps this question will not appear forced: In Moscow you sat at the same table with your Romanian colleague, the Romanian defense minister. Did you have a chat, and if so, how did it go?

[Karpati] We have known each other for a long time. There were other military leaders there as well. We have known them for a long time. It must be said that we have very good personal, comradely relations. I think that the problems are not between us, the soldiers. The problems which exist between the two countries have other roots. So between us these did not manifest themselves in any way.

[Zentay] So this was not a topic for discussion at the Moscow discussions.

[Karpati)0 It was not a subject for debate. But we soldiers did talk about it just among ourselves.

[Zentay] As private citizens.

[Karpati] Well, you might say that. It must be said that we understand each other well. [end recording]

Departing Soviet Commander Receives Award

AU1107111688 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 5 Jul 88 p 8

[MTI report: "Hungarian-Soviet Friendship Society Award to Aleksey Demidov"]

[Text] On 4 July, at the Hungarian-Soviet Friendship Society headquarters, a farewell reception was held for Colonel General Aleksey Demidov, commander of the Soviet Southern Group of Forces temporarily stationed in Hungary. Antal Apro, chairman of the Hungarian-Soviet Friendship Society, awarded him the gold-wreathed badge of the society as an acknowledgement of his activities to strengthen the friendship of the Hungarian and Soviet people.

MTI Reports on Grosz NY TIMES Interview

LD1007174988 Budapest MTI in English 1716 GMT 10 Jul 88

[Text] New York, July 10 (MTI)—The Sunday NEW YORK TIMES carries an interview with Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the HSWP. In the interview the Hungarian politician speaks in details on the targets of reform policy, the Hungarian-Soviet relations, and political and economic issues.

'A new political structure is required built from down to up, starting from the grass roots,' emphasized Karoly Grosz in the interview. 'The watchword is voluntary activity, creativeness and the freedom of creativity.' He summed up economic tasks that 'we are striving for the establishment of a market economy where customers and not the producers take the upper hand,' 'where there is a sharp competition among the companies and neither leaders nor employees can feel safe if they do not work properly.'

'I am working for a Hungary, which is open and has integrated into the vanguard of intellectual and economic development,' said Karoly Grosz and added that an open, civilized and rapidly developing socialist world is also in the interest of the west.

Part of the 80 minute interview is carried on the cover of the NEW YORK TIMES. The article is illustrated with a picture of Karoly Grosz shaking hands with Mikhail Gorbachev.

Grosz NEWSWEEK Interview Cited

LD1107094188 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0600 GMT 11 Jul 88

[Text] After THE NEW YORK TIMES, NEWSWEEK, the U.S. magazine, also carried an interview with Karoly Grosz, MSZMP general secretary and premier, on the occasion of his upcoming visit to the United States. Elemer Csak reports on the article:

[Csak] The main aim of my trip is for the United States to get to know Hungary and the government's intentions, said Karoly Grosz in the interview he gave to the U.S. weekly. The general secretary added that the Hungarian leadership wants to widen its contacts with the world. It is convinced that Hungary can play a role in strengthening detente and mutual understanding.

Karoly Grosz responded to a question saying that the Hungarian reforms are similar to the Soviet practice in several respects, but are different in others. Following the Moscow party conference, however, there are no political or economic reform issues in which there is not complete agreement with the Soviet leadership.

Karoly Grosz analyzed the mistakes which led to the country's current situation. He said, among other things, that measures are being planned to regroup the labor force and realize wage reform.

Regarding the political structure, the general secretary pointed out that the one-party system is a historical legacy. Various kinds of political thought must appear within the party in its various organizations.

Concerning the Hungarians living in Romania, Karoly Grosz said: The differences in opinion can only be solved with political tools.

In conclusion, the party general secretary was asked how he envisioned Hungary in 1998. Karoly Grosz replied that he will have retired by that time, but that he trusted that in 10 years our homeland would be characterized by dynamic development, balanced economic growth, and even greater political openness.

MSZMP Central Committee To Meet 13 July

LD0807184088 Budapest MTI in English 1653 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Text] Budapest, July 8 (MTI)—The session of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party is to be called on July 13, Wednesday. The Political Committee proposes to the Central Committee to discuss the report on the experience during the early months of this year in the development of the economy and the proposals for the major directions of the development in 1989, as read by CC secretary Miklos Nemeth.

The Political Committee finds it necessary that the Central Committee be informed on this year's economic situation earlier than envisaged, since the attainment of the planned targets is vital for the implementation of the stabilization and advancement programme and this way the political ideas required for essentially influencing the economic processes in 1988 could be formulated in due time. In order to achieve the economic turn in the coming years its major direction should be dealt with. The report covers two alternatives of next year's economic policy ideas. The first requires faster and more radical changes, the second is targeting a more gradual smaller social tension provoking transformation risking a delay in advancement.

The Political Committee proposes the Central Committee discuss proposals included in the report of Gyorgy Fejti, CC secretary, on the major principles of the rights of association and assembly. The importance of the subject is proven by the fact that in recent times public life became more active and the efforts of the citizens to associate and assemble increased. But the Hungarian legal system lacks the detailed legal regulation on the assembly and association rights. Therefore, it is important to assure the prevalence of the socialist democracy and the protection of the constitutional order to formulate an appropriate law in the parliament.

The Central Committee will, in addition, discuss its own and the Political Committee's cadre listing authority, as reported by Janos Lukacs. Karoly Grosz, HSWP general secretary will [word indistinct] personnel issues to the CC.

More on National Assembly Constitution Committee

AU0907143888 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 2 Jul 88 p 4

[Correspondents' report: "The Goal Is To Work Out New Constitution—Committee To Prepare New Constitution Elected"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] At its session on 1 July, the National Assembly elected a Committee for Preparation of a New Constitution. The deputies adopted the proposal on the members and officials of this new body with one abstention. Gyula Kallai is the chairman and Istvan Gajdocsi the secretary of this new body.

The deputies also elected two other members to the committee. A proposal was made to have at least one deputy from every county in the new body.

A short debate emerged about the interpretation of the new committee's tasks: Is its goal to work out a new constitution, or to modify the existing one? The chairman of the National Assembly pointed out in his answer that the matter at issue is working out a new constitution and not simply modifying the old one. [passage omitted]

The committee will include experts, constitutional law experts, and scientists in its activity, but these people will not be elected by the National Assembly but by the committee itself. [passage omitted]

Officials, Media Preview Gorbachev Visit

Rakows' i News Conference

LD0707225188 Wa[illegible] Domestic Service in Polish 1405 GMT 7 Jul 8[illegible]

[Unidentified correspondent's report on press conference by PZPR Central Committee Politburo member Mieczyslaw Rakowski on CPSU General Secretary Gorbachev's forthcoming visit to Poland, in Warsaw on 7 July—Rakowski's remarks recorded]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Correspondent] A correspondent of PRAWO I ZYCIE asked for a comment on the statement by Professor Kaleta that transformations are being made more quickly and consistently in the Soviet Union than in Poland.

[Rakowski] Yes; in a sentence, there is freedom of the press and Professor Kaleta can write what he thinks is right.

[Correspondent] Kay Withers of the BALTIMORE SUN wanted to find out whether the Soviet guest would meet Cardinal Macharski.

[Rakowski] As far as I know, in the program which is being prepared for the visit by Mikhail Gorbachev, no meeting with Cardinal Macharski (?is envisaged) [word indistinct], but everything is possible in life, after all.

[Correspondent] Karol Szyndzielorz asked about the political significance of Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Szczecin.

[Rakowski] Well, we haven't any particular complex and we are not afraid of anybody (?violating) the western frontier, but I think that the presence of Comrade Gorbachev in Szczecin will once again underline the lasting presence of Poland in these territories. As far as I know, different cities in Poland announced that they wanted to receive Comrade Gorbachev, and if he wanted to fulfill those wishes, he would have to stay here a few months, I suppose. That's impossible; on the other hand, his going to Szczecin is not [word indistinct] an extraordinary event, but certainly politically significant. [passage omitted]

Olechowski on Visit

LD1007221088 Warsaw PAP in English 2122 GMT 10 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, July 10—Polish Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski told Polish TV prime-time news bulletin tonight that the forthcoming Polish visit of Mikhail Gorbachev would confirm the special state of relations between Poland the Soviet Union.

They (relations) have developed in a very comprehensive and active manner in recent years. And the fact that the CPSU CC general secretary is arriving in Poland immediately after the 19th party conference is of additional importance, said Tadeusz Olechowski.

Asked about topics of talks with the Soviet delegation, Minister Olechowski said they were numerous. Both for the Soviet Union and for Poland measures for the sake of peace, detente and disarmament are specially important topics.

We shall discuss this subject very thoroughly, said Olechowski. We shall also hold a discussion on how to establish the maximum-benefit condition in our foreign policy measures: they working towards their perestroyka, and we towards our renewal. These are the same philosophies, but each of us must pursue them in his own country and under his own conditions.

Asked whether the scheduled official U.S. visit by the Polish minister for foreign affairs were to crown the process of normalization of Polish-American relations, Minister Tadeusz Olechowski said:

"It is definitely not a beginning of normalization. This element is partly behind us already. An official visit of the Polish foreign minister is surely a significant development in this normalization. Is it a crowning. I do not think so."

Minister Tadeusz Olechowski said there was still a visit to the Federal Republic of Germany in front of his ministry and that along with his U.S. trip they were two extremely important visits, both from the political and economic point of view.

Gwiazda News Conference

LD1007164588 Warsaw PAP in English 1326 GMT 10 Jul 88

[By Janusz Dworecki and Jerzy Redlich]

[Text] Warsaw, July 10—Comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union is a guarantee of Poland's economic security, said Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Wladyslaw Gwiazda at a press conference which he held today at the press center for Mikhail Gorbachev's Polish visit here.

Annual Polish-Soviet turnover amounts to 13 billion roubles. Electronics, automation, biotechnology and bionics are to be preferred cooperation trends for the coming years. Special emphasis is placed upon development of direct cooperation between enterprises, establishment of joint ventures and border-zone trade.

At the moment, 207 Polish enterprises cooperate directly with Soviet partners. Direct contacts are maintained between 130 pairs of Polish and Soviet scientific and

research bodies. Close cooperation is pursued by 170 trade enterprises of the two countries. Border trade is to amount this year to some 200 million roubles.

Least advanced is the process of establishing joint ventures, which results from imperfect economic and financial mechanisms, said Minister Wladyslaw Gwiazda. Out of 75 jointly researched scientific projects, 35 are being already applied in production.

Poland was one of the most committed participants of the discussion on upgrading the role of a common currency of the Council for Mutual Economnic Assistance (CMEA) member-states, Minister Wladyslaw Gwiazda declared, and went on that the weakness of financial instruments was a factor which slowed down enhancement of cooperation. Attainment of convertibility of national currencies is not an easy task due to discrepancies in prices and because of insufficient supply of goods within the CMEA. Nevertheless, we must achieve, in a gradual way, convertibility of transfer rouble, which may occur after 1995, Minister Gwiazda stressed.

Asked whether the so-called convertible currency input was accounted for in settlements with the Soviet Union, Minister Gwiazda replied that in settlements with CMEA countries, including the Soviet Union, Poland did not make an issue of it as far as turnover encompassed with long-term protocols was concerned. In the case of extra non-planned supplies, currency inputs can be agreed upon individually between enterprises. The currency input in Polish goods supplied to the Soviet market amounts to the average of 5 per cent of their overall value, Gwiazda told the conference.

In spite of good results of Polish exports in 1988's first six months, situation in foreign trade does not satisfy us, observed Gwiazda. Poland continues to occupy one of the end positions, both in terms of exports value per capita and in terms of share in world exports, which quotient is merely 0.6 per cent at the moment.

Gorbachev Profiled

LD1007212088 Warsaw PAP in English 1916 GMT 10 Jul 88

["On Eve of Gorbachev's Polish Visit"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, July 10—Following an invitation from First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP) Wojciech Jaruzelski and from the highest state authorities of the Polish People's Republic, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) Mikhail Gorbachev will arrive in Poland July 11 for an official visit of friendship.

It is going to be already the third Polish visit of the Soviet leader since he assumed the post of CPSU CC general secretary. The first time Poland hosted him was in April 1985, when leaders of parties and states of the Warsaw Treaty met to extend the alliance's validity. The second time Mikhail Gorbachev visited Poland was in late June and early July 1986, when he headed the CPSU delegation to the 10th PUWP Congress.

Mikhail Gorbachev taking over as CPSU CC general secretary opened a new chapter in the history of relations between Poland and the Soviet Union, which have never been as close, open and sincere as they are today. "I should like to assure the present congress and the entire Polish people," said Mikhail Gorbachev in his address at the 10th PUWP Congress, "that we shall always be your friends, under any circumstances. We are, in a friendly way, interested in success of your plans and actions, we are interested in Poland's being a strong independent socialist state, a committed member of our community, its strong link."

Achievements of the past three years are a confirmation of those words as they bore the fruit of considerable expansion and deepening of economic, scientific and technological cooperation as well as of non-conventional forms of collaboration. Another evident proof of this is the "Declaration on Cooperation in Ideology, Science and Culture," signed last year by Wojciech Jaruzelski and Mikhail Gorbachev. The declaration is a document unprecedented not only in relations between Poland and the Soviet Union, but also in general—between socialist countries.

According to general expectations, the friendship visit starting Monday should become a new, extemely important stimulus in mutual relations between the two countries and should contribute to even better understanding and, as a result, to further tightening of truly fraternal cooperation.

Mikhail Gorbachev was born March 2, 1931, at Privolnoye, which is now a 3-thousand-people village in Stavropol Territory, the southern end of the Soviet Union's European part. His grandfather and his father were peasants. His father worked as a driver of a combine harvester. His mother Marya Panteleyeva, 76, has not abandoned her native village despite her son's career and continues to live there.

As was the case with other children of that generation, Mikhail's childhood was very short. When Germany invaded the Soviet Union he was ten years old. Since all able-bodied men were drafted and went into combat, he could learn about hard work at an early stage of his life. He helped his mother in the field while his father fought the German aggressor.

Sergey Gorbachev's combat route took him to Poland and he was wounded when liberating the southern Polish city of Krakow. One of the places that Mikhail Gorbachev plans to visit during his present stay in Poland is the building which housed a Red Army mobile hospital where his father recuperated.

He was barely a 15-year-old lad when he sat behind the steering wheel of his first combine harvester. When he was 18, he was honoured with the Order of the Red Banner of Labour. It was a rare case for a person this young to be awarded one of the highest state distinctions of the Soviet Union.

In September 1950, after he graduated with silver honours from a secondary school, he passed successfully entry examinations to the Law Department of the Lomonosov State University in Moscow. He joined the party at the age of 21. In 1955, with his Law Department graduation diploma, he returned to Stavropol Territory, where he continued his activities in the Leninist Young Communist League of the Soviet Union. He held various leading functions within the youth movement.

In March 1962 he took a full-time party job. In September 1966 he was appointed first secretary of the Stavropol CPSU Town Committee. At the same time, he continued to be an extra-mural student at the Stavropol agricultural institute, where he graduated in 1967 with the speciality of agrarian economist. In August 1968 he was appointed second, and in April 1970 first secretary of the CPSU Stavropol Territory Committee. Next, Mikhail Gorbachev was transferred to work in Moscow.

In March 1971 he was elected member of the CPSU Central Committee. He was a delegate to the 22nd, 24th, 25th, 26th and 27th CPSU Congresses. In 1978 he was elected Central Committee secretary for agriculture.

Mikhail Gorbachev's further career progresses at an unprecedented pace since then. In 1979 he became candidate member, and in October 1980 full member of the CPSU CC Political Bureau.

For four terms of office running he has been a deputy to the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union. In March 1985, when he ascended to the party's supreme office he was 54, and thus the youngest member of the then Soviet leadership. The only younger person to head the party was Vladimir Lenin.

Like during his other foreign trips, Mikhail Gorbachev will be accompanied in the course of his visit to Poland by his wife Raisa Maksimovna.

Experts will take long time in their attempts to define what can be termed as "Gorbachev's phenomenon". Nonetheless, there is no doubt whatsoever even today that no other politician nor statesman has so far managed to win the world's public opinion in such an effective and brilliant manner as Mikhail Gorbachev has.

It took him only three years to conquer the world. Suffice to recall here results of most diversified probes carried in various countries, Poland included, as well as the "Man-of-the-Year" title awarded to him in 1987 by the American TIME magazine. Not to mention the success attained by his famous book "Perestroyka and New Thinking," which has turned out to be a bestseller and has had four editions already.

Solidarity Demands Katyn Explanation

LD0907224788 Hamburg DPA in German
2203 GMT 9 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—The leadership of the banned trade union Solidarity today demanded a clear Soviet position on the murder of 15,000 Polish officers, of whom around 4,000 were found in mass graves in the Katyn Forest in 1943. In a statement on the upcoming visit by Soviet party leader Mikhail Gorbachev, the Executive Committee of Solidarity welcomes the changes in the Soviet Union as giving rise for hope.

Changes in relationships within the East bloc also must develop from this, which would exclude applying the "so-called Brezhnev doctrine and restore sovereignty to individual countries." A new order in Polish-Soviet relations is in the interests of both peoples and Europe.

The historical strains and in particular false representations in the secret protocol to the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, the Soviet aggression against Poland on 17 September 1939, and the "crimes of which Katyn is a symbol" are still a painful wound in the consciousness of Poles. "The time is ripe to say clear and unambiguous words on this issue," says the statement. This could reduce mutual reservations.

KPN Arrests, Homes Searched

LD1007233788 Hamburg DPA in German
2312 GMT 10 Jul 88

[text] Warsaw, (DPA)—At least three member of the nationalist Confederation of Independent Poland (KPN) were arrested in Warsaw on Sunday evening. The police had beforehand searched their homes.

One of them, Krzysztof Krol, was released a few hours later because of poor health. He reported he had been told this action was in connection with the forthcoming visit by Soviet party leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

Media Coverage of Arrival

LD1007174788 Warsaw PAP in English
1709 GMT 10 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, July 10—At 9.55 a.m. tomorrow, Channels One of Polish Radio and Polish Television are to provide live coverage of the ceremony of welcoming General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) Mikhail Gorbachev and his wife Raisa at Warsaw airport.

Also tomorrow, at 3:30 p.m. on Polish TV Channel One and at 3:40 pm. on Polish Radio Channel One, live coverage from a gala Sejm (parliament) sitting will be broadcast.

Gorbachev Begins Official Visit, Conferences

Honored at Arrival Ceremony

LD1107100688 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0801 GMT 11 Jul 88

[Excerpts] [First reporter] Mikhail Gorbachev is now appearing in the door of the plane. The honor guard is presenting arms, and Mikhail Gorbachev and his wife are greeting Wojciech Jaruzelski and Barbara Jaruzelska. [passage omitted]

Wojciech Jaruzelski introduces Polish officials: Zbigniew Messner, Roman Malinowski, Tadeusz Witold Mlynczak, Jan Dobraczynski, Wladyslaw Baka, Jozef Baryla, Marian Orzechowski, Tadeusz Porebski, Mieczyslaw Rakowski, Florian Siwicki, Zofia Stepien, Stanislaw Ciosek, Manfred Gorywoda, Janusz Kubasiewicz, Gabriela Rembisz, Kazimierz Cypryniak, Andrzej Wasilewski, Bogdan Kolodziejczak, Tadeusz Olechowski and Wlodzimierz Natorf. [passage omitted]

Mikhail Gorbachev has greeted Wlodzimierz Natorf, Polish ambassador to the Soviet Union.

Mikhail Gorbachev will now introduce the Soviet officials accompanying him during his visit to Poland. Let me remind you Mikhail Gorbachev is accompanied by Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and foreign minister; Vadim Medvedev, CPSU CC secretary; Yefrem Sokolov, first secretary of the Communist Party of Belorussia Central Committee; and Vladimir Brovikov, Soviet ambassador to Poland. [passage omitted]

More Polish leaders and officials are now being introduced: deputy premiers, representatives of Christian associations, members of the Consultative Council attached to the chairman of the Council of State. [passage omitted]

[Second reporter] A moment ago, Mikhail Gorbachev greeted Jarema Maciszewski—let me remind you that he is co-chairman of the Polish-Soviet commission of historians—a short talk. This commission is explaining all these fragments of our history which are still unclear. This is the commission for the so-called blank spots.

[First reporter] You have interrupted me. I would like to say that we are close enough to hear what the subject of the conversation is.

[Second reporter] Of course, it is difficult to translate this, as one can only hear broken sounds. At the moment, Gorbachev is greeting Aleksander Legatowicz, also a member of the Consultative Council attached to the chairman of the Council of Ministers. Now, greetings from the capital administrators: Mieczyslaw Swiostek, chairman of the Voivodship People's Council—also a short talk—and Warsaw Mayor Jerzy Boleslawski, followed by Prof Jerzy Ozdowski.

[First reporter interrupting]...members of the military authorities.

[Second reporter] Now, a long welcoming ceremony with the representatives of the diplomatic corps, the doyen of the corps, a long line of representatives of embassies in Warsaw, and heads of all diplomatic missions. [passage omitted]

Hailed by Warsaw Crowds

LD1107091988 Warsaw PAP in English 0900 GMT 11 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, July 11—The ceremony of welcome at the Warsaw airport has ended. The guests and hosts left the airport. Along the streets of Warsaw, the Soviet leader and his wife were cordially greeted by Warsaw's inhabitants. The motorcade stopped at the monument to pilots in the Zwirki i Wigury Avenue which created an opportunity for direct welcome of Mikhail Gorbachev and for conveying greetings to him.

A similar situation occurred at the Rozdroze Square where Mikhail Gorbachev and Wojciech Jaruzelski were given bunches of flowers by Warsaw's inhabitants.

Jaruzelski, Gorbachev Begin Talks

LD1107122788 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 11 Jul 88

[Text] Polish-Soviet Talks, chaired by Wojciech Jaruzelski and Mikhail Gorbachev, have begun in the PZPR Central Committee headquarters building.

Officials Discuss Polish-Soviet Relations

Gwiazda Views Economic Ties

LD0907113488 Warsaw PAP in English 1705 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, July 8—"At the moment there are numerous enterprises in Poland cooperating with partners in the Soviet Union, said Minister for Foreign Economic Relations Wladyslaw Gwiazda in his interview for PAP.

"What is more significant, there are new ones emerging which indulge in their own will and fancy, and attempt to enter the Soviet market with their commodities and services to stay there for good, or at least for as long as possible.

"On the other hand, as the minister responsible for development of economic relations with foreign partners, I encourage, for the time being with the aid of economic mechanisms, development of economic cooperation with the Soviet Union, since it is a chance for us.

"We are not alone in this understanding, which is borne out by efforts made by other socialist states, or even more importantly, by the attitude of Western businessmen.

"Even a dozen or so years ago it was nearly a popular belief that the Soviet recipient was not a very choosy partner, which belief did not encourage our industry to upgrade to-dateness of Polish products.

"Today, quality requirements in the Soviet Union are very high. It may be a reason for concern at the moment, but if we look into the future, it is or will be an important stimulus to changes for the better in our production and exports stock offered for sale.

"Let me add here that the Soviet partner has become so demanding as not to be willing, despite our huge foreign debt, to accept everything that our enterprises put out for sale. The Soviet side accepts only what suits its needs and represents a European quality level."

"The tremendous success of new thinking in the Soviet Union, and earlier in Poland, consists in our grasping the fact that the interest of an enterprise should be primarily decisive in setting up cooperation, and that only combined with the interest of the state, the enterprise's interest produces an optimum result in the end.

"In quantitative terms, we now have considerable cooperation established between industrial plants, trade organizations and scientific and research bodies, but this is only a beginning.

"It is not yet what we are aiming at and what is to lead to collaboration at the basic level in economy. A collaboration which stems from a natural need and from proper cost-benefit analysis, and which enables each of the sides to solve its own vital problems," said Gwiazda in conclusion of his interview.

Characterized by 'New Nature'

LD1007211488 Warsaw PAP in English 1939 GMT 10 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, July 10—In connection with Mikhail Gorbachev's visit at the Polish Sejm (parliament) scheduled for tomorrow, PAP asked Deputy Ryszard Wojna to make a statement on the current nature of relations between the parliaments of Poland and the Soviet Union as well as on transformations which were taking place in their operation.

"The ties between Poland's Sejm and the two houses of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union," said the deputy, "have for a few years now been acquiring a new nature.

"Not only do we meet more frequently and at various levels of representation, but also, and this is the most important thing, we are departing from the facade of protocol which used to mark our contacts in the past and we are focusing on real problems in cooperation between the two countries.

"Problems of restructuring economic mechanisms, and in general, problems of our renewal and Soviet perestroyka, have turned into factors which unite us now even more.

"We are aware today of the fact that within both our parliaments we can perceive a greater-than-ever need for direct information exchange as well as for exchange of texts, and particularly, of those texts which are related to new economic legislation.

"And thus, we are developing new forms of cooperation. We are establishing contacts not only at the level of presidia, but also at the level of committees, and such committees at that which are not directly involved in foreign politics.

"A need for contacts of the new type is also realized by parliaments of some other socialist states. And hence, an idea is brewing on the Sejm's initiative (it was verbalized by Roman Malinowski a year ago at Warsaw's meeting of parliamentary heads of the Warsaw-Treaty member states) to institutionalize a dialogue of this kind on the multilateral platform.

"The Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union lends its full support to the Polish initative. We have held an in-depth exchange of views on this issue with the Soviet parliament," said Deputy Ryszard Wojna.

Council of Ministers Meets on Special Powers

LD0807201088 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Text] The Council of Ministers today examined the matter of extraordinary powers for the government. During the first 6 weeks that the law has been in force, nine laws have been passed. The solutions adopted within the framework of the extraordinary powers are aimed at improving the market situation through an increase in supplies. The unfavorable tendency toward a deterioration in market supplies through increased exports has been halted. These are just the first results. An increase in the supply of goods and services was estimated at 2.7 percent. The increase is currently estimated between 3 and 3.5 percent.

The Council of Ministers also adopted a regulation on new methods of hard-currency crediting and defined the principle of goods turnover for duty-free zones in our country.

Economic Report Approved

LD0907092488 Warsaw PAP in English
0112 GMT 9 Jul 88

[Text] Warsaw, July 8—The Council of Ministers today approved a report on the implementation of the law on special powers for the government in the hitherto period of its binding force, that is from May 12 till June 30, this year.

Activities Within Frame of Special Powers [subhead]

The solutions adopted within the frame of the special powers for the government were in the first instance directed at improving the market situation through an increase of supply. The negative trend of worsening market supply at the cost of increasing exports has been stopped. The government decree under which exports tax breaks could be obtained only in cases where the volume of goods supply to the domestic market was not decreased, was conducive to this.

As a result of the activities undertaken to increase market supply, the real threat of the volume of supplies envisaged in the Central Annual Plan falling behind was not only overcome but it is currently estimated that supplies of goods and services could increase not by 2.7 percent but by 3-3.5 percent.

The solutions in the sphere of prices and remunerations were also notably important for the balancing of the economy and struggle against inflation.

In connection with excessive, unjustified as concerns work results, increases in the means for remunerations, which threatens the market balance, the government has taken measures marshalling the economy in this field. Enterprises in which the tax on above-norm remuneration payments exceed 25 percent of the planned profit to be divided will be systematically deprived of the breaks in tax on above-norm renumeration payments and will be forced to pay a tax higher by a half for the given year. Other rigors have also to been introduced. [sentence as received]

Steps have been taken to marshal the managers of economic units in the price-income field. The use by the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the possibility, granted under law, of removing or suspending the directors of those enterprises or suspending the managers of those cooperatives which clearly act against the reform, breaching economic relations in a glaring way. As a result of an analysis of data coming from 16 thousand economic units, it was deemed justified to start explanatory activities with regard to a fourth of these units.

Having analyzed the received explanations, the government recalled or suspended in duties five general managers of state enterprises and 28 heads of cooperatives. Four presidents were recalled by supervisory boards themselves. These activities are to be continued.

An accelerated procedure of dividing, combining and liquidating state enterprises was adopted on the basis of legal powers. The first decisions have been made to liquidate 21 enterprises and to break up six others. Two inter-ministerial teams have also been set up to handle the economic assessment of steelworks and shipyards.

Enterprises geared at satisfying the local needs of the population were subordinated under the powers of voivodes. An overall 330 enterprises were relayed to voivodes. In the case of 101 of them, the Council of Ministers made use of the special powers.

The investment project front has been curtailed.

Foreign Trade Boosting [subhead]

The Council of Ministers adopted a decree on the new principles of hard currency crediting and on the principles of goods turnover between customs free zones and foreign countries and the remaining customs territory (in Poland).

The list of enterprises empowered to draw credits is being expanded in line with the adopted decree. Aside from producers, these will be also obtainable for foreign trade enterprises which meet appropriate conditions, that is, those which have hard currency on their accounts from exports.

The key principles of trade in goods in customs free zones to be situated in Poland have also been determined. In line with the adopted provision, commodity movement between foreign countries and the customs free zone will take place without the need for any permit for export or import and without customs fees.

Mikulic Responds to Interference Charges

LD0907194088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1304 GMT 8 Jul 88

[Excerpt] Sarajevo, 8 Jul (TANJUG)—Never has a report on the work of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee Presidium between the two LC sessions given rise to such a discussion as was the case at today's session of the republic's highest party leadership. The discussion, in which many issues not included in the report were raised, lasted the full 4 and ½ hours.

Speaking about the Presidium's work between the two sessions, Milan Daljevic stressed that even 10 months after the Agrokomerc affair neither a complete analysis has been carried out on the economic and financial situation of this collective nor has there been any appropriate program for a financial recovery and a way out of this difficult situation. Daljevic said that there is a lack of coordination between individuals working to implement the stands on Agrokomerc by the Executive Council, the Economic Chamber, the Associated Bank, and the temporary organization of Agrokomerc.

The need to complete differentiation in Bosnia-Hercegovina is being discussed with increasing frequency, said Branko Mikulic among other things in the discussion at today's session of the LC Central Committee. I agree with this, he added. However, I presume that we are aware of where the differentiation should be carried out and which people should be involved. Since this is a political differentiation, thinks Mikulic, it means that those who persistently raise this matter know who should be affected by differentiation, because they do not agree either ideologically or politically with the ones from whom they wish to differentiate themselves.

It would be good to get rid of the taboo on this subject as well, to clarify any disagreements. It is more correct to act in such a way as to make it clear whether differentiation should be carried out like this, rather than to use different methods or even some journalists in the media. In Mikulic's words, they sell lies, half-truths, as well as fabrications in the most unscrupulous way and thus compromise certain officials. This is being defended as a democratic gain.

It hurts me a great deal, said Mikulic, when we try to eliminate people from public or political life through disqualification. Lies are also being infiltrated into particular cadres and then we hear that, after all, they should not be elected to this or that function because they were discussed in this or that way.

The LC organs should also take their stands on besmirching people and spreading lies, thinks Mikulic. For instance, a great deal has been written about me in the last few years. But it makes my hair stand on end to hear what has been written in the latest issue of Belgrade's STUDENT: that people's hero Ante Rastegorac, partisan war veteran from 1941, myself, and one other comrade are to blame for the destruction of partisan monuments in Kupres. It is frightening to see what methods people use in their attempts to discredit individual cadres. These are the things we must reflect on and adopt a stand on. Or should we let everyone of us defend ourselves on our own from such calumnies?

My every discussion at Central Committee sessions, continued Branko Mikulic, has recently been followed by polemics at sessions of the Central Committee about how Bosnia-Hercegovina did not participate in the development of the federation policy in an approprite way and I clearly said that I was speaking from the point of view of the job I do. I said in precise terms that by this I did not imply political organs in the federation or the participation of political organs from the republic in the work of these organs. After this, Miroslav Jancic started a dispute with me at the session of the SAWP republican conference Presidium putting words I never uttered into my mouth. Why is this done? What is the purpose of it? So that a stand is adopted somewhere on who should be politically disqualified in Bosnia-Hercegovina? Who has adopted this stand?

Mikulic then gave as an example Fuad Muhic's interview in DUGA, in which he stated that he did not believe that Branko Mikulic does not have an impact on cadre policy in Bosnia-Hercegovina. I appeal to all present and former officials to give, if they know, one single instance of my interference in or attempt to influence cadre policy in Bosnia-Hercegovina. If they can give an example I am ready to be called to account. Even if I did it, I shall say: No one should be offended or angered if (? I tried to prevent) Fuad Muhic from being elected to the Central Committee.

Let us not use presuppositions, Mikulic went on. Why is there this idea that Branko Mikulic influenced cadre policy in Bosnia-Hercegovina? What is the use of it and why are we discussing it in the press? Why not here? Let us speak sincerely, said Mikulic, as one communist to another.

Taking part in the discussion, Fuad Muhic dealt very briefly with the words of Branko Mikulic. I think, said Muhic, that our mutual roll calls deviate from our agreements on the methods of Central Committee work and that they are perhaps not the happiest solution to certain controversial topics. I truly said, stated Muhic, and I stick to my statement, that it would be almost unbelievable to assume that Branko Mikulic had no specific influence over cadre solutions in this republic between 1978 and 1988. This assumption is incredible to me and I will no longer tackle it from the substantive point of view.

I am sorry, said Fuad Muhic, that such roll calls can, most likely independently of Branko Mikulic, influence an end to the democratization of our public dialogue, even at the Central Committee sessions. Apart from this, added Muhic, Branko Mikulic could have even given a

reply to the magazine in which this sentence was published in a way in which he could have raised this entire set of problems to the level of dignity. I do not approve of, said Muhic, divisions within the party between soldiers and generals in respect to the mutual critical dialogue. For this reason, I consider this entire roll call unnecessary and superfluous in our democratic atmosphere.

In other parts of the LC, Muhic went on, republican party presidents and federal officials are accountable independently and on their own in precisely such a democratic spirit—for instance Milan Kucan in Slovenia and some others—and therefore do not need forums in order to attach special and undeserved significance to views with which they disagree. In the process of resolving the courses of the crisis within the framework of disciplines I deal with, said Muhic, I have taken on a risk right from the beginning whereby what I say would not always please a certain number of people and individuals with real political power and influence. I accepted this risk on my own. My own fate in all this is of no interest to me. If anyone is in favor of this said Muhic finally, I can hand in my resignation from the LC Central Committee immediately today. Or else, if there are still those who think like Branko Mikulic—that I should be relieved of my duties as a member of the LC—this fact will certainly not affect my further orientations. [passage omitted]

Vojvodina Body Decries 'Accusation, Lies'

LD0607200188 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0826 GMT 6 Jul 88

["Statement by Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Presidium"—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Novi Sad, 6 July (TANJUG)—At an expanded session of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Presidium, the presidents of all the organs of sociopolitical organizations and other organs of the socialist autonomous province of Vojvodina also participated. Among other things, issues were raised in connection with certain assessments and stances which Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, voiced in an interview published in the latest issue of NIN and also their broad political implications, it is stated in today's communique.

Not willing to discuss other controversial issues on this occasion, the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Presidium in particular rejects the assessment that "parts of provincial leaderships want the provinces to become states in the nearer or further future," as well as the one that for this reason "negotiations are underway for the institution of certain rights which, if adopted, would reprersent the basis for the division of Serbia into three independent and mutually separated bodies, three states."

The question arises: How can Slobodan Milosevic, as the president of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium and member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, make such assessments on the part of leaderships in Vojvodina when none of the LCY and the political public have determined so far that the demand for the province to become a republic of state was the slogan of Albanian nationalists and separatists, while this interview now claims in fact that parts of leaderships in provinces are also behind such a demand.

Such suspicious accusations and lies attributed to the Vojvodina leadership represent an open invitation for divisions within the leadership and organization of the Vojvodina LC. This is also an attempt to discredit publicly the leadership of the province in Vojvodina, Serbia and the country as a whole and also their ideopolitical stances regarding changes to the Serbian Constitution.

The Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Presidium considers, the communique states, that such irresponsible statements do not contribute to efforts to consolidate mutual trust and the development of unity and fellowship in Serbia on the basis of the stances of the LCY Central Committee Congress, the 10th Congress of the Serbian LC, and the LCY conference. All controversial questions in connection with the changes to the Serbian Constitution can only be resolved on the basis of the LCY stances and by joint responsible work in a democratic and constructive atmosphere. Everyone must therefore bear his share of responsibility, it is stressed at the end of the communique of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee Presidium.

Demonstration Takes Place in Novi Sad

AU0907203488 Pristina Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1900 GMT 9 Jul 88

[Text] Some 500 Serbs and Montenegrins of Kosovo arrived by train and by car in Novi Sad this morning, as was announced earlier, so as to acquaint the Vojvodina people with the situation in Kosovo. The gathering place was the square in front of the Novi Sad railroad station, where a column was formed which then marched along the 23 October Boulevard, the high street of Novi Sad. Numerous banners were carried in front of the column, across the whole street.

Traffic was stopped while the column moved along. From time to time, shouts were heard of: Kosovo is Serbia, and Vojvodina is Serbia; We are Stronger Together; We are Brothers; Down with the 1974 Constitution. Along the way, the marchers invited Novi Sad people to join them, but this was not widely accepted.

Several hundred Serbs and Montenegrins first arrived in front of the Vojvodina Assembly building, in the park nearby, and then gathered in the wide square in front of the Vojvodina Executive Council building. After a public address system was installed, the meeting could begin.

It was opened by Miroslav Solevic, who informed those present that a large number of citizens and delegates had attended a meeting of the 16th local community of Kosovo Polje. A 6-member committee was set up to conduct all these activities, and we bear full responsibility for everything that will happen here, Solevic said. He added: We have shown that we are a dignified people.

Mico Sparavalo, militia colonel, retired, and an old partisan, explained the reasons that made Serbs and Montenegrins go from Kosovo to Novi Sad. Sparavalo said that persecution of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo and Metohija have not stopped even 7 years after the outbreak of the counterrevolution in 1981, but on the contrary, has become even more precise and fierce, because the separatist movement in the meanwhile became stronger and larger.

Sparavalo added that some speeches by individuals, and some positions of the Vojvodina provincial leadership, intentionally or unintentionally give much encouragement to the champions and ideologists of the separatist movement of Albanian chauvinists in Kosovo, and that the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo cannot shed the impression that a certain coalition exists between a part of the Vojvodina leadership and a part of the Kosovo leadership.

Those attending the meeting demanded that Vojvodina leaders should appear before them. However, nobody from the provincial leadership appeared at the gathering, because representatives of the Provincial Conference of the SAWP of Vojvodina insisted that they had talked with a delegation.

In front of the railroad station, Bogdan Kecman on behalf of the group of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo expressed thanks to the Novi Sad people for their welcome and to the security organs for doing everything in their power to make the meeting and the stay of the group in the capital of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina pass in peace.

Details of Protest

AU0907155488 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 9 Jul 88

[Zivojin Jerotijevic and Nikola Bulatovic report]

[Text] Although the Vojvodina SAWP Provincial Conference announced that it would not bear responsibility for the political consequences of their arrival, and although the Kosovo SAWP Provincial Committee has dissociated itself from the intention of citizens of the province to go to Novi Sad, Serbs and Montenegrins of Kosovo Polje stuck by their decision and, together with people from other parts of Kosovo, arrived in the Vojvodina capital this morning.

The gathering started in front of the Novi Sad railroad station early this morning. The Kosovo people came to Novi Sad in cars and buses, but most of them came by train. It is estimated that over 1,000 Serbs and Montenegrins of Kosovo gathered in the square in front of the railroad station by 0900. They carried banners inscribed with slogans: United Serbia, Our fate; We want peace; [Word indistinct] bureaucracy equals counterrevolution; One Constitution, one judiciary, one authority in all of Serbia; We believe in the LCY; Socialist autonomous province, yes—state, no.

Although buses were offered to take them to the center of the city, to the Vojvodina Assembly building, the Kosovo people rejected the offer, formed a column at the behest of their committee that had organized their arrival in Novi Sad, and marched quietly and in a dignified way to the city center. On their way to the city center, the participants in this peaceful demonstration shouted slogans: Kosovo is Serbia, Vojvodina is Serbia; Together we are stronger, there have been enough divisions; We are your brothers, you are our brothers.

The Novi Sad people that happened to be in the streets (?cheered) the Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo [words indistinct] and there were some, particularly women, who did not hide their tears. Many also joined the column, so that a protest meeting was held with some 5,000 people present.

Having marched along 23 October Boulevard, the column accompanied by militia turned along Maksim Gorkiy Street, the streets that bears the name of legendary Sutjeska, [two more street names indistinct], and stopped in front of the Vojvodina Assembly, on 27 February Street, which got its name from the date when the Constitution of Vojvodina was adopted in 1974.

Representatives of the Novi Sad March Organizational Committee refused to send just a delegation to talk with representatives of the Commission for Petitions and Complaints. They pointed out that they all are delegates and demanded that the highest representatives of the Vojvodina Political leadership should address them. This demand was not met, and a protest meeting was held in front of the building of the Executive Council of the Vojvodina Assembly, in Marshal Tito Boulevard. The meeting was also attended by many citizens of Novi Sad.

Miroslav Solovic was the first to address the citizens gathered. Miodrag Sparavalo, Militia colonel, retired, bearer of the 1941 Partisan Memorial Medal, president of the Organizational, spoke at the meeting.

[Begin Sparavalo recording] (?I want to) assure you that we have not come to break up and to divide the peoples and nationalities of Vojvodina on a national and religious basis, nor to cause commotion, but to present our

Kosovo experiences and to point out the possible consequences of the conduct of a part of the Vojvodina leadership that reflects negatively on the drama of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo and Metohija. [cheers] [end recording]

Complaints were expressed during the meeting because of a power cut. Representatives of Kosovo asked the owner of a private apartment to plug in the amplifiers obtained from the Zeleznicar Culture and Art Association of Novi Sad, but the electricity went out quickly in that apartment, too.

One of the speakers was worker Miodrag Zivkovic, who said he spoke on behalf of the citizens of Vrsac who joined the Serbs and Montenegrins who came to Novi Sad. Frequently interrupted by applause and cheers, Zivkovic denounced the behavior of the Vojvodina leadership, and especially their position on the constitutional changes in Serbia.

[Begin Zivkovic recording] We tell you, comrades provincial leaders, that nobody gave you the right on behalf of the peoples and nationalities of the province to forbid us to show our solidarity with the Serbian people in Kosovo. [cheers] Your warnings confirm this best. [Words indistinct] leaders who (?try) to prevent our expressions of solidarity with our people in Kosovo in this crucial moment, crucial not only for the Serbian people and the SR of Serbia but also for Yugoslavia. [cheers] [end recording]

The protest meeting of the Kosovo people in Novi Sad was concluded shortly after 1300. Their representatives expressed thanks to the citizens of Novi Sad for their welcome to this manifestation of brotherhood and unity, as they called it. The column then marched along the same route to the railroad station.

At 1430, a train left Novi Sad taking the Serbs and Montenegrins from the protest meeting in the city. The majority of them traveled by train, and several hundred departed by the cars in which they had come.

Kosovo Press Describes Meeting

AU2906142688 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 26 Jun 88 p 9

[R. Kasumaj, N. Bytyci report: "Commitment to Stability, But Also Unacceptable Theses"]

[Text] Yesterday afternoon, about 1,000 Serbs and Montenegrins, from other parts of the province as well as local inhabitants, gathered in the buildings of an old school under the auspices of the two local communities. The participants were among the 50,000 signatories of the recent petition sent to the highest party and state authorities. The aim of the gathering, according to Milomir Minic, executive secretary to the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, was to maintain the continuity of the dialogue that began with Slobodan Milosevic's visit to Kosovo Polje last year.

At the same time, those present were informed of the specific standpoint of the Serbian leadership and of the three chambers of the Serbian Assembly as regards the recently-sent petition. Dragan Nikolic, president of the Chamber of Municipalities of the Serbian Assembly, emotionally informed the gathering of the conclusions of yesterday's assembly meeting, which he summarized in brief in order to stress that the petition received full support. The first aim, he underlined, must be to guarantee full political security and security of property. There must then be a palpably stricter enforcement of responsibility among all authorities and institutions in the province, in Serbia, and the Federation. He then pointed out the great opportunities offered by the proposed changes to the Constitution of Serbia to restore total sovereignty throughout all the territory Serbia considered to be its own. Despite an understanding that there would be no discussion, Milica Bojanic was almost compelled by those present to appear on the platform, and tried to convey something of what she called the warm atmosphere of the meeting of the three chambers of the Serbian Assembly. She told those present, among other things, that the delegates to the meeting from Kosovo Polje had been better received that any others. Serbia, Milica Bojanic added, can only achieve equal status with other republics with our help. Many other citizens also spoke, among them Miroslav Solovic, Bogdan Kecman, Slavo Jovanovic, Momcilo Pumpalovic, and others.

Not to go into their speeches in depth, let us say that they were in favor of the stabilization of the political and security situation in Kosovo. However, it is curious that they viewed everything in the light of a further role for the Army and the state security services. They also once again repeated their well-known insulting theories and their inevitably gloomy vision of the present and future of Kosovo, the Albanians, and Yugoslavia. How is it possible, said one of them, that Raif Dizdarevic involves himself with one person under arrest in Slovenia, while the Serbian people here have suffered and been oppressed for 5 decades now. Another speaker said how ironical it is that Bosko Krunic sold the Serbian lands long ago. He then said that Branko Mamula had given the figure that every second soldier in the army is an Albanian, which is a threat to our security and national existence. In Kosovo, old people and pensioners had been removed in the name of differentiation, while those who had swum with the tide of irredentism were now sitting among the Kosovo leadership. Let us conclude by noting that the speeches of guests from Belgrade and other speakers were accompanied throughout the gathering by clamorous shouts from the hall. Whenever it was said that life with the Albanians was impossible, or that Albanians do not exist and if they do exist they should be pushed out into Albania, shouts of approval and delight echoed round the hall. On the other hand,

when speakers such as Dragan Nikolic said that Serbs and Albanians have a common destiny in Kosovo, there were shouts that this was not true, and that Kosovo must be what it was—sacred Serbian land.

Is it difficult to recognize which is the truth? It must at least be said that such thinking has nothing in common with the basic principles of the LCY.

It was reported that the Kosovo Polje gathering formed a special council with the task of organizing a protest march of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo to Novi Sad in Vojvodina.

Along the road, it was said at the meeting, other colonists in Vojvodina will join them. It was said that at Novi Sad they will protest against the leadership of Vojvodina, a province where, according to them, separatism has established itself.

Demonstrations To Be Discussed

AU0907191988 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 9 Jul 88

[Unattributed talk on the demonstration by Serbs and Montenegrins of Kosovo in Novi Sad]

[Text] What shall we say about all this? It may be that the Novi Sad march of the Kosovo people and everything that happened there, especially the refusal by the provincial leadership to talk with them, and the statement by the Vojvodina SAWP Provincial Conference, are only confirmation of how difficult it is at present to bring closer the views that may be said to be confronting each other, and how much more difficult it is to find a common language.

This obviously is an event which will be discussed in our country. Perhaps it will be discussed at the forthcoming session of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia which will be held on 14 July. It is to discuss the implementation of the party plenums conclusions on Kosovo.

Krunic on Novi Sad Events

LD1007215888 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1141 GMT 10 Jul 88

[Text] Novi Sad, 10 Jul (TANJUG)—Here, in this pure Serbian area we have never advocated Serbian nationalism. The Chetniks [Serbian nationalist pro-fascist movement during World War II] were referred to and spoken of here as bullies and cut-throats in the same way that the Ustashi, Cherkesses, Germans and Hungarian fascists were thought of as murderers and arsonists. From the very first day of the uprising, efforts were made to create an awareness of the need to unite all available forces in the struggle against the common enemy. And even when, as a nation, we were condemned to extermination, we did not lose faith and hope in the brotherhood and unity and in new Yugoslavia whose existence depended on it.

This was said by Bosko Krunic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, at a ceremony today in the Srem village of Prhovo near Pecinac. The ceremony was opened by laying wreaths at the Tomb of the Fallen Heroes and by the launch of "Visovi Ravnice" ["The Hills of the Plain"]—a first chronicle of the war events in the village written by Vasilije Petkovic and Zivko Vasic.

Yesterday, said Krunic, something unpleasant happened which serves as a warning, but at the same time encourages us to reflect and react. We all know that the most serious political problem in Yugoslavia today is the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo. As a result of the pressure by Albanian irredentists, this emigration is being turned into a fatal question of our unity, peace and integrity and survivial of Yugoslavia such as it is today.

"We in Vojvodina, like people in other parts of our country, are fully aware of the gravity of the Kosovo drama, of national divisions, of economic stagnation, of numerous social and other problems. The nations and nationalities in Vojvodina deeply sympathize with the situation and the diffucult position of the Serbian and Montenegrin people in Kosovo. We know what national oppression and national divisions are. We are aware of them and, like as others, are making the utmost efforts to stabilize the political situation. Of course, more links should be developed with the poeple of Kosovo. The pooling of resources and associated labor is needed, as is help in resolving numerous problems—Krunic said adding that, in any case, these are tasks allotted to us by clearer and more specified political decisions. However, the greatest responsibility continues to rest with the progressive forces in Kosovo.

However, at the same time and in connection with yesterday's events in Novi Sad, we are forced to react to everything which introduces suspicion, to what amounts to a groundless accusation, to what is ugly and pointless, to the invocation of what is happening and to to attempt to pay other people's bills on the misfortunes of a nation. We in Vojvodina never asked to be a republic. And why and to whom and how long are we to go on repeating this? Furthermore, I must remind you that in the wake of the counterrevolutionary demonstrations in Kosovo in 1981 we stated clearly that Vojvodina has its republic and that it does not require another one. Why then these insinuations? We said clearly what we thought about the events and responsibility in Kosovo. And now you get one of the not infrequent manipulations concerning this difficult situation. An attempt is being made by some unreasonable and also narrowminded and nationalistically-minded people to reproach us for almost being the cause of all the evil in Kosovo, of all the problems in Serbia and Yugoslavia. When these accusations are accompanied by nationalistic songs, when proven nationalists, like military commanders, take on the leadership, well, then all this can only make the already difficult situation in Kosovo even more difficult.

Krunic suggested that this was not to the advantage of the Serb and Montenegrin nations and did not solve these serious problems.

They are leading these people astray by suggesting that the Vojvodina leaders do not want unity and that this is the result of all their troubles. We know what nationalism and fratricide are. We are aware of the prive that must be paid for hatred and slaughtering, for brandishing axes and over the fear of extermination—when people hate each other because of their religion or nationality. We know all this because Vojvodina paid the price for rifts and extermination. We also know the price with which we defeated the fatal ideology of chauvinist exclusiveness. We will thus continue to safeguard all our material and spiritual achievements and foundations for building equality and brotherhood and unity, Krunic stressed. He continued:

We are guarding this idea in Vojvodina, and we are trying to guard it in Serbia in the best possible way—and of course in Yugoslavia as well. However, brotherhood and unity is not guarded with slogans, but with patient and responsible work and attitudes concerning achievements and the foundations of equality. We in Yugoslavia have overcome both poverty and hunger, blockades and isolation, and armed threat; but we truly have no future if national relations, built up so patiently and given such a good base, are undermined to the point of crisis. As we look seriously and with concern at the relations in Kosovo, we are rightly concerned over the attacks on the brotherhood and unity in Vojvodina, and in Yugoslavia in general.

In Vojvodina, people cannot be led on so that Serbian support and consent might be sought. Many nations live here and the threat to the Serbian people—who incidently are also numerically the largest and who are not threatened, but want to live with others on the basis of equality—cannot be invoked without consequences. Alien slogans and songs cannot be exclaimed and the seeds of discord cannot be introduced in a detrimental way in a place where the healing of wounds has been going on for too long. You see, it is now as if everything goes, as if the bourgeoisie has acquired the right to attack the revolution, even going so far as to condemn the LC, making attacks on Tito and attempting to ascribe to him the responsibility for some kind of alleged anti-Serbian and Cominternsponsored policy, and other such nonsense.

Krunic said this is why these attacks and unpleasant phenomena are occurring. National Liberation Movement leaders passed through here during the war, by coincidence—through Prhovo and Srem, in a Serbia that knows full well what the people of Srem are like and what brotherhood and unity are like in general in Vojvodina. It is a Serbia that knows how the autonomous province, upon which aspersions are being cast, came of age. It makes it seem as if this is a case of historical deception. A very large number of underground activists came here from Zemun and Belgrade. Hundreds, indeed thousands, of fighters came and joined Partisan units. They all remember the unity of this people and how they created authority, contributing to the creation of Tito's new Yugoslavia.

As a result of all this, it is galling when people in Vojvodina are labelled without further ado in this way, and when attempts are made to divide on a national basis the people who live in it for the sake of some third Yugoslavia, some state of national consensus having a configuration of forces. We recall all this from the past. Here we are now confronting slogans about some kind of greater Serbia. We know the pathetic history and the fate of these ideologues and ideologies. The cultural, political, and economic achievements, which are today already a civilizing factor and that have been acquired and constituted normally, cannot be taken away for anyone's or any kind of authority to be imposed, Krunic observed.

The member of the LCY Central Committee then said that the crisis today requires more work from all of us. The time of large-scale reforms, large-scale undertakings and serious policy cannot be deferred. One cannot lose oneself in the production of the crisis or forget the possibility of the senseless use of force and the abuse of peoples. A way out of the crisis is found with more self-management, more autonomy and responsibility at all levels and not with more authority. The time has come for new forms of democratic life and the enrichment of equality and brotherhood and unity; the time has come for truth and not the manipulation of truth. No one is untouchable, not even the leading people in our political leading bodies and in our political life in the country. We in Vojvodina are witnesses to the serious criticisms of the work of the organs and of everyone, from the federation to the municipality, but none of this has any connection with dirty politics, which is something completely different.

We do not need this psychosis of bickering, which comes from some kind of bygone radical era and the altogether strange campaign against people and institutions in Vojvodina. This is now designed to have an impact on the constitutional changes or rather to bring pressure to bear on the constitutional changes—and this is common knowledge. But why, if 26 of the 33 amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia have already been agreed upon, while there is a clear way ahead for reaching agreement on the remainder—why, if what is left is three or four questions about which there should be negotiation? Surely one seventh or one eighth of questions which are unresolved does not deserve so much. It probably does deserve it if even these questions are not considered sufficient and if a halt is not called here. [sentence as received] In Yugoslavia negotiations on constitutional amendments, both now and in the past, are much more difficult, but we have never discredited each other in a way that Vojvodina is being discredited.

And we must say that success is never achieved by force or by outvoting. This is our historical experience. He who does not know this experience is pitiful.

The time has come for us to face up with full responsibility to the days ahead which require from us much work and renunciation. We must hope that common sense and responsibility will prevail and that we will implement in the correct way what we committed ourselves to at the LCY Conference. There are so many reasons for creating and not causing disintegration, for uniting forces and not causing division, and for democracy and self-management as opposed to force—so many in fact that we must obstinately and courageously insist on this, Bosko Krunic, a member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, specified in conclusion.

Slovene Leaders Receive Human Rights Delegation
LD0807154288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1450 GMT 8 Jul 88

Ljubljana, 8 Jul (TANJUG)—A delegation of the Committee for the Protection of Human Rights today visited Janez Stanovnik, president of the Presidency of the SR of Slovenia, and Joze Smole, president of the SAWP republican conference. They expressed a sharp protest at the decision of the Supreme Military Court to reject the complaint of Janez Jansa, Ivan Borstner, and David Tasic over their extended detention. The committee believes, it was stated on the occasion of their meeting with Stanovnik and Smole, that the whole procedure in the "Jansa, Tasic, and Borstner affair" is being conducted contrary to the demands of the democratic public and against the stances and conclusions of the highest policymaking organs and organs of authority in the SR of Slovenia.

Janez Stanovnik stressed on this occasion, as well as in today's statement for Radio Ljubljana, that the stances of the Slovene Presidency and his own personal stance in this matter are virtually identical to the stances of the Committee for the Protection of Human Rights. He also advocated fulfilling the rights of the people to be informed and supported requests about the detainees being allowed to freely choose their defense. The Presidency of the SR of Slovenia, Stanovnik said today, will also debate this case next week.

Kucan Statement on Slovenia at LCY CC
LD3006231088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1327 GMT 30 Jun 88

["The LCY Central Committee: Krunic and Kucan on the Situation in Slovenia"—TANJUG headline]

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 30 Jun (TANJUG)—[Passage omitted] Milan Kucan, president of the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium, said in his statement [at the LCY Central Committee session on 29 Jun] that the mass media reported fairly extensively on the session of the Slovene LC Central Committee. Those who managed to read press reports from at least three environments were able to gain an objective impression about that session.

The day before yesterday was not the first time the Slovene LC Central Committee discussed the problems associated with the attacks on the YPA. These problems, Kucan said, were a significant reason but certainly not the only reason for this session and for this particular topic. Our point of departure was that these problems could not be viewed as an isolated manifestation which occurred outside the crisis and without reference to the general political situation in our republic and in the country as a whole which in our assessment is unfavorable.

The basic thing said during the session is that the political situation in Slovenia is complex and difficult. In particular it is weighed down not only by the situation caused by the actual relations or, to put it better, by the attacks on the Army, but primarily by the economic and development stagnation of the Slovene economy and of Slovenia as a whole, by social tension and by workers' dissatisfaction which culminated in the strike in Maribor.

The Central Committee, Kucan said, has not attempted to view these events in isolation. Nevertheless they are after all part and parcel of the political scene in Yugoslavia and are not only a Slovene problem. This situation was not politically clear enough up to the session of the Slovene LC Central Committee. It was confused and was a subject of manipulations in Slovenia and concerning Slovenia.

In our evaluation the session was good and the objective has been attained. It has contributed, Kucan believes, to the clarification of the situation. It adopted a clear stance on the current political processes and events and laid down our tasks. It preserved and consolidated the basic directions and sharply defined the lines of integration, of cooperation in political action, and also the lines of differentiation in the LC of Slovenia and in the LCY.

In formulating its stance the session heeded also the assessments of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and this has been contributed to through earlier clarification talks with the LCY Central Committee Presidium and with the comrades in the SFRY Presidency and the Army command. We also heeded, Kucan said, the opinions of the Yugoslav public, and with these opinions there were polemics but also acceptance and agreement. Of course, not all the opinions were accepted, especially not those which were superficial, one-sided, manipulative and speculative.

The session of the Slovene LC Central Committee, Kucan stressed, confirmed the guidance provided by the conferences of the LC of Slovenia and of the LCY. To

deviate from those guidelines would have posed a threat not only to the socialist organization of our society but to the very idea of socialism in Slovenia.

We also noted a great degree of identity in the commitments of the conference in the LC of Slovenia and in the recent conference in the LC of the YPA. In our assessment, Kucan believes, this is very significant and is the best answer to some notions about the social status of the Army which can be heard in Slovenia.

The task was stressed that political scope has to be opened for the key strategic direction which is the implementation of the decisions of the conference, and that the manifestations of political excesses and deviation which restrict that scope must be eliminated. In our opinion, Kucan said, the most responsible person is the one who in his environment is working together with everyone not only to preserve but also to develop and carry out this basic direction.

The view was endorsed, Kucan said, that the problems should be looked at not in isolation but in the context of the Yugoslav social crisis, which in the assessment of the Slovene LC Central Committee is entering a new development phase.

First, following the LC conference the position of socialist forces and of the LC in our society has strengthened. A clear program of the way to emerge from the crisis and of the faster socialist development provides the basis for a more forward-looking position and conduct of subjective forces and of the LC. It was said that the echelon of bureaucracy can cause far more damage to socialism and self-management than our internal and external enemies can.

The other element of this new situation, Kucan said, is the consequences of the implementation of the economic policy and reform measures adopted by the Assembly. These measures are a test of our consistency and our readiness to overcome the gap between principled commitments and specific activities. Political attention must focus on providing information for the workers. This is our lesson from Maribor.

The third factor of the new situation, according to Kucan, is the entire complex linked with constitutional changes. The present phase has demonstrated all the controversial issues in our society, political, ideological and social, which are being discussed concerning one's commitment for constitutional changes, either in the sphere of socioeconomic relations or in that of the nature of the federation and of conceiving the idea of and understanding democracy.

The fourth complex, Kucan believes, is the differences in the views of the role of the LCY. Here the differences are the biggest. There are few specific shifts and this is why the thoughts heard today are very encouraging. All this has an influence on the political atmosphere, the alarm, and the concern of the people for the future, prospects of the reforms, and the process of democratization, and in the ultimate analysis, for the destinies of the country. All this, Kucan said, plus the inadequate provision of information for the working people, party organizations, and LCY members is the cause for an atmosphere which is fairly susceptible to manipulations and political speculation of every kind, which subsequently made possible the dimensions which the attacks on the YPA assumed in Slovenia and subsequently throughout the country.

The session of the Slovene LC Central Committee was fairly determined in the conclusions which it adopted. First, Kucan mentioned that we have to remain consistently on the guidance provided by the conference and the commitments of the 13th LCY Congress and of the 10th Congress of the LC of Slovenia. The conclusion is that the action to implement these stances of ours and/or program conclusions was in some instances inadequate, devoid of initiative, uncreative, and uncoordinated.

It was said that there was no scope for withdrawal here because that would have amounted to discrediting socialism and this is the ultimate objective of the attacks on the Army. We have to remain on the line of three reforms in which respect special significance attaches to the renewal of the LC. Attention has to focus on the development and economic issues, and discussions about the changes in the economic structure of Slovenia have to be speeded up because unless this is done in a worthwhile manner and unless the workers are informed adequately enough and are supportive, the strongest conservative counterattack, Kucan believes, can be expected from this rigid and obsolete economic and social structure. Democratization of economic and political life is an integral part of the direction these three reforms have to follow.

The key question which we asked ourselves at the session of the Slovene LC Central Committee and to which we provided an answer, Kucan stressed, was the question whether the way out of the crisis is possible along a democratic road with the use of self-management resources. The answer was positive and this has to be insisted on. The alternative would be something which is not socialism. The assessments about the situation in Slovenia which are not based on cogent arguments were rejected. These are the well-known assessments about the counterrevolution, organized subversive activity, special war, opportunism within the leadership, and the idea that they are succumbing to Slovene nationalism and separatist tendencies. It was said absolutely clearly, and this was written down in the conclusions, that there are reasons for thinking about opportunist behavior and inadequate activity. It was said that occasionally there are delays with conclusions and even greater delays with their implementation which refers of course not only to the Presidium but also to the Slovene LC Central Committee. It was also said that there has been hesitation in the implementation of these stances.

The session of the Slovene LC Central Committee, Kucan said, was absolutely clear as regards the condemnation of the attacks on the Army, in the context of the nationalistic, antisocialist and other platforms for emerging from the crisis which are being offered in the Slovene but also in the Yugoslav political sphere. The strength of these platforms is commensurate with the lack of our strength to implement our platform. The theses about the Slovene quasi-vanguardism were rejected. These are the theses according to which Slovenia alone is mature for democracy and that it is in its interest alone that we should embark on economic reforms, and so forth. The unacceptable theses that the Army is an army of occupation, that these are army units stationed in Slovenia were also rejected. The stance concerning the military coup, the lists, and the opinion that the Army is not an organization which can stay "within the barrack walls" was also clear.

However, Kucan recalled, the notion was affirmed that the Army is also our army, and that we too have the right and the duty to discuss its problems, conceptually and in other ways, but that this has to be done in a way which will protect the Army against the attacks through a tendentious portrayal of its problems and manipulation with it. In particular we dissociated ourselves from and qualified the attacks on YPA members and officers. I should like to state here, Kucan said, that they are not as extensive as one could have gathered. I am not underrating this problem at all, nor did the Central Committee. I am proposing that our republican secretariat for internal affairs produce a report on this which could be forwarded to you.

In this respect special gravity is attached to the incident in Ljubljana which occurred after the cultural meeting. We denounced it strongly and adopted a stance on that. However, we rejected the view that there was a conflict between the Army and the Slovene people, between the Army and the leadership of the LC of Slovenia, that is, the Slovene political leadership. Everything has to be done through the medium of political and broad social action to prevent this from happening.

We said that all the Slovene nation was responsible for that. It was said that untimely and inadequate reaction to these manifestations restricts the scope for serious discussions on the problems of a conceptual nature, all-people's defense, social self-protection and—in this context—on the Army as well. The objective of these discussions, Kucan said, which are of a conceptual or other nature, should be to strengthen the defense capability of our country and the defenses of its independence and territorial integrity and sovereignty, and not to weaken this capability.

Nevertheless, Kucan stressed, it was said clearly that the view about the homogenization of the Slovenes in their critical attitude toward the organs of the federation is not acceptable. It was stressed that the influence and initiative of Slovenia in Yugoslavia have to be strengthened, that the initiative is inadequate or not prepared seriously enough, and that it has to be realistic and objective enough in relation to the role which Slovenia plays in the political, economic and cultural life of Yugoslavia.

It was said, Kucan said, that it is one thing to discuss the status of the judiciary and its work, and another to have to sustain the pressure, which is not something new, in specific cases. For this reason the judiciary in our system has to be placed in a position where it can hold out against this pressure because it must be autonomous and independent. The people must be in a situation where they can exercise control over the work of their courts.

It was proposed during the session of the Slovene LC Central Committee, Kucan stressed, that there should be talks with the Presidium of the LC Committee in the YPA because the differences in the assessment of joint problems must be overcome.

The need for stopping the fanning of anti-Slovene sentiments was stressed.

The great importance of public opinion in political action and the responsibility for creating this opinion was stressed. It has to be taken into account because to underrate public opinion and everything which is formulating it can be the reason for losing the battles for the implementation of the lines of political action adopted by the LC at its conferences. In this context the great responsibility for publicity and the spoken word was stressed. Tendentious information is usually worse than no information at all, while the lack of information is not a democratic act, and a self-management act even less so.

The need for the publicity of work in all LCY organs, in accordance with the statute, was stressed because this strengthens responsibility and places the organs within the parameters of the LC jurisdiction.

A significant conclusion was that by the end of this year, Kucan said, the Central Committee together with young Communists should analyze and eliminate everything which in the conduct and the action of LC and other socialist forces prevents the young people from feeling free and therefore equally responsible for the formulation of the practice from the viewpoint of socialism benefitting man. We realize that the position of young people and their lack of prospects are one of the trouble spots.

It was agreed, Kucan said, that the Central Committee at a special session will discuss the ideological questions of socialization of defense and security in the present social conditions and situation which will emerge as a result of the implementation of the reform of our economic and political system.

The serious nature of current ideopolitical conditions in Slovenia, Kucan stressed, requires that on the basis of the opinion formulated at the 20th Central Committee

session, all basic and municipal organizations, LC aktivs, Communists in the Socialist Alliance, in the trade unions, youth organizations and assemblies should immediately analyze the situation and further activity in their own environment and come to an understanding on further activity. No one else can assume responsibility for the situation and for sorting out the conditions in their own environment. All members of the Slovene LC Central Committee, the delegates from the one and the other conference, and members of the LCY Central Committee from Slovenia should take part in these discussions. We propose that these activities be joined in a creative way also by members of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and members of the LCY Central Committee responsible for LC organizations in Slovenia. A check we have carried out indicates that they are not fulfilling these duties of theirs all that well. I must say, Kucan said, that Comrades Branko Mamula and Mirkovic came to Slovenia more often than anyone else.

The real value of this session of the Slovene LC Central Committee, Kucan believes, depends on the realization. The conclusions only provide a good basis and support for action which is mainly linked with the implementation of the conference commitment, but not in Slovenia alone.

I believe that a great deal depends on overcoming and eliminating the causes of the Yugoslav crisis from our life by the action of the LCY in all its parts.

Referring to the conclusion to the discussion statements by Tomislav Radovic and Mile Djukanovic during the LCY Central Committee plenum, Kucan invited them to come to Slovenia and have talks with the communists in the basic organizations, in the municipalities and also with noncommunists, to see for themselves the people's life, mentality, political awareness, and way of thinking. If after this visit the two comrades go back with the same very serious opinions, then a polmenic has to be entered into with them on the basis of cogent arguments. In that case this polemic would be inevitable, Milan Kucan said at the end of his statement during the 15th session of the LCY Central Committee. [passage omitted]

Serbian Security Termed 'Difficult'

AU0107153888 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Jun 88 p 6

[Biljana Cpajak and Zoran Radisavljevic report on speech by Radmilo Bogdanovic, republican secretary for internal affairs, at the joint session of all three chambers of the assembly of the SR of Serbia on 23 June: "Kosovo Is the Most Serious Problem for the SR of Serbia and the Whole Country"]

[Text] At the beginning of his introductory speech, Radmilo Bogdanovic, republican secretary for internal affairs, stressed that the security situation in the republic depends on the general economic, political, ideological, and moral state of society. It is difficult and tends to be constantly deteriorating. It will not improve more significantly until the basic causes of this situation are removed. The enemy is strengthening its oppositional-propaganda-subversive and other destructive activities, exploiting, above all, the existing economic difficulties and problems and trying to influence a deepening of the economic and political crisis.

Ideological and class opponents of the system are also using passivity, opportunism, and the disarray of the socialist forces in certain communities and attack increasingly frequently and in a more and more organized and inconsiderate way the basic values of our socialist self-managing community.

The recent LCY conference and its specific operative stances on the way to solve the most important social, economic, and political problems and its readiness to approach a concrete realization of economic and social reform, must contribute to the removal of the other causes which have led to an inappropriate security situation. The only way to mend and stabilize all the security circumstances in the republic and country is to overcome the economic crisis; stop the fall in the living standard; eliminate political and intranational conflicts; decisively get rid of ideopolitical differences and hesitation over serious social questions; increase efficacy in implementing democratically affirmed stances and conclusions; and increase the active political mobility of socialist forces.

The Situation in Kosovo Is Dramatic and Alarming [subhead]

"As I said, the entire security situation in the republic, and especially in Kosovo, is getting worse and worse and escalating toward social unrest, demonstrations, and even intranational radical conflicts," warned Bogdanovic.

The enemy is spreading. It has appeared on the public stage, which was its aim. More than ever before, it is having an effect through its actions on the forming of public opinion and is carrying out its own kind of ideological indoctrination whose real dimensions cannot be completely faced at this time.

Antisocialist, anti-Yugoslav, political-destructive, and counter-revolutionary forces attempt to direct the justified dissatisfaction of workers, young people, students, and citizens caused by the political, economic, and moral crisis in society, in a way that suits them best. Their basic aim at the moment is to get workers out onto the streets, create wider social unrest and to make the situation even more complex.

The economic, political, and social crisis which has taken hold of our socialist community and the fall in the living standard to the lowest level of existence for the workers class and other layers of society, cause strong and unprecedented, social, psychological, and political

disturbances. Tension rises and citizens follow every social event attentively and with concern and anticipation. Work stoppages, protests, petitions, public declarations, and citizens' meetings attain increasingly political characteristics and the enemy tries in various ways to exploit this, in order to provoke unrest and confrontation between society's lawful institutions and the workers class. However, at these difficult moments, our workers class and citizens demonstrate their sharp class and revolutionary consciousness. They do not let themselves be seduced by demagogic slogans and provocation. They rightfully seek the responsibility of state and political organs and forums, but they will not allow anyone to destroy what has been created over the decades through much self-sacrifice.

The continued activity of Albanian nationalists and separatists in Kosovo continues to be one of the most dominant security problems in the SR of Serbia and in the country as a whole. Bogdanovic stressed that even with all the measures that have been taken, the security situation in Kosovo is not improving, although there had been certain shifts in some areas. The situation regarding intranational relations in Kosovo is getting increasingly worse and dramatically alarming. It is threatening to develop into open intranational conflict which could not be controlled later without the use of force.

The situation regarding the personal and ownership security of Serbs and Montenegrins is particularly deteriorating, which has an effect on their increasing emigration. The direct consequences of the emigration are permanent, numerous, varied, and aggressive pressures which are being put on the members of other nations and nationalities in Kosovo, particularly Serbs and Montenegrins.

On the other hand, organized and justified protests by Serbs and Montenegrins cause emotional, national, and, for some individuals, nationalist disturbances. In such a situation, direct and indirect stimuli from certain Serbian nationalists should continue to be taken into account. Until the personal, ownership, and legal security of citizens of Serbian, Montenegrin, and other nationalities is secured, Kosovo will be a constant and long-term source of the most serious security problems for the whole country and therefore one can justifiably stress that this is a Yugoslav problem. For its part, the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs of the SR of Serbia is doing everything that is allowed by the constitutional and legal framework to offer help to the security organs in Kosovo.

A Difficult Situation in South Serbia as Well [subhead]

Bogdanovic stressed that the political-security situation in the communes of Bujanovac, Presevo, and Medvedja is difficult and complex, although this varies from commune to commune, and emigration under pressure continues. The activities of Albanian nationalists and separatists in this region is now much more perfidious and directed toward a deepening of national distrust and intolerance, in a word, the creation of a psychosis and feeling of hopelessness for the continued survival of Serbs in these communes.

In these and similar circumstances, we have stressed many times that Serbian nationalism is inspired by Albanian and other nationalisms and is the main means for the manipulation of the political opposition in the republic. We spoke earlier about a group of nationalists exposed in Belgrade, their activities, their attempts at spreading their action, and some external displays of their activity and I state now that Serbian nationalism is becoming increasingly obvious. Here, we have in mind above all a number of national-revanchist displays, attacks on the property of Albanians, the writing of slogans, etc. Nationalism is also appearing in communities where it has not appeared before, primarily because of the situation in Kosovo, but also in other parts of the country.

The reactionary section of the Serbian Orthodox Church totally supports the action of Serbian nationalists, realizing that at this moment it offers them an historic chance to "get back" the influence that, in their opinion, the Serbian Orthodox Church should have in society. They try more frequently and openly to impose themselves as the sole protectors of the Serbian nation, and especially of the Serbian inhabitants of Kosovo.

As well as Serbian nationalism, other nationalisms are appearing in parts of the republic, of which Muslim nationalism is the most obvious at the moment, because of the way it operates, the involvement of an external factor, and the danger which objectively comes with it.

The bourgeois right has, in cahoots with Serbian nationalists, "ca[illegible]red" certain public platforms and exacts its influence [illegible] certain newspapers, thereby creating opportunities for spreading its propaganda among the wider public. The leading people and communists in these publications should answer to this. In the republic and the country, the attitudes of some intellectual environments are more and more frequently approaching bourgeois liberal and right-wing attitudes. Their appraisals "that the political climate is suitable for further democratization" (without the LC, the workers class, and a socialist social structure) are in fact an open call to oppose the party and other socialist forces in society, that is, a call for the introduction of a multiparty system. The flirting of some bourgeois rightists from Serbia with ideological supporters from other parts of the country is nothing but a temporary alliance in order to destroy the system according to the principle "it is important to destroy this and then we will see."

When we talk about the security situation, we cannot avoid the activities of foreign intelligence services and extreme political emigres. They have always represented an important factor in the destabilization of the country and the system.

Bogdanovic said at the end that extremist emigres in the West are constantly operating against the republic. The basic directions of their activity are aimed at unreserved support for all those who operate and act against the constitutionally set order, from nationalistic, bourgeois-right, or clerical-nationalistic positions. With the aim of internationalizing the situation, they publish in their newspapers all material which attacks and compromises the system and the sociopolitical order. One of their basic aims is to show that there is no democracy in our country. At the same time, emigres are putting much effort into uniting and creating a joint platform for even more aggressive action against the country. The most extreme groups and individuals advocate the necessity of carrying out terrorist acts of sabotage.

The session was still continuing at the time of going to press.

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

A Hint of Terrorist Acts of Sabotage by Albanian Emigres [subhead]

"Extreme Albanian emigres and the Albanian intelligence service are intensively continuing their actions against the republic and Kosovo. There are serious hints that they, and particularly the Albanian emigres, will begin to organize and carry out terrorist acts of sabotage both at home and abroad, and the security services, although not only them, must prepare themselves for such a situation," stressed Bogdanovic.

Folk Group 'Ill-Treated' at Greek Border

LD0907034988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1706 GMT 8 Jul 88

["Macedonian Folk Group Ill-Treated at Greek Border "—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Skopje, 8 Jul (TANJUG)—Without any explanation, although they had crossed the Yugoslav-Greek border at the Dojran-Doirani border crossing point in an orderly manner, the Greek authorities sent back from Greek territory members of the Kosta Abrasevic folk ensemble from Skopje. In this way they were prevented from taking part in the folk festival which is being held in the small Greek town of Nea Moudhania on the peninsula of Khalkidhiki. The bus with members of the ensemble was first of all allowed to proceed onto Greek territory without any hindrance. After they had gone only 500 meters a police car caught up with them and made them turn back to the border post, where they spent 7 hours in a temperature of 44 degrees centigrade, and the representatives of the Greek authorities did not even offer them water.

During the 7 hours of wrangling we were offered to appear at the festival without our folk costumes—as tourists—Marija Matevska, the courier and technical secretary of the Abrasevic Ensemble said. The president of the ensemble, Boban Garic, stresses that this unpleasant event was incomprehensible for the festival organizers too, who the whole time were at the border crossing together with members of Abrasevic trying to clear up the disagreement. We do not understand why politics is brought into culture and we are prepared, Garic says, provided we obtain a guarantee that we will not be ill-treated at the border, to travel to this festival and show the folklore wealth of Yugoslavia to friends in Greece.

This behavior by the Greek authorities really is incomprehensible, especially as this evening a Greek folk group, the Holy Sophia Ensemble from Serres, is appearing at the traditional Balkan Folklore Festival in Ohrid. Members of the ensemble from Greece also had the honor of taking part in the final evening of the festival. The Balkan Folklore Festival in Ohrid is being held for the 27th time and guests from Greece always take part in it.

Commentary Views USSR Political Scene

AU2906151688 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Jun 88 p 8

[Dragan Vukcevic commentary: "An Oath for the General Secretary"]

[Text] Since jokes (or anecdotes, as they are called in the USSR) do not come about by accident, this one from Moscow certainly is not accidental. It goes like this: "The left bank of the Moscow River (both banks were built with cut stone a long time ago) was raised by those who told political jokes but the right bank by those who listened to them."

This funny, and probably the most told anecdote has begun or ended many conversations, including family conversations, about "untouchable" leading politicians and political themes. It is not known when the joke was first told, but it is told today as a bitter reminder of the tragic times of reprisals in the country. Apart from that, the anecdote has been planted into the consciousness of many generations as a warning of the danger of "long tongues."

When it was hinted at the beginning of 1986 at the 27th CPSU Congress that a reform of the political system was possible, as well as a reform of the economic system, there was until recently mainly whispering about this subject, which has been an old taboo for decades. Many people could not believe that the old warning of the danger of "long tongues" had been done away with and expressed "indifference" and "caution" toward perestroyka and were officially grouped into "conservatives" or those "awaiting" the results of reform. Glasnost replaced the whispering only after the publication of the theses for the CPSU All-Union Conference (which begins 28 June) which confirmed the urgency of reform

of the political system because of "the real inclusion of the masses in the management of all state and social business" and "a halt to the formation of a socialist legal state."

Direct Comments [subhead]

The press was immediately showered with different opinions, many of which must have been unpleasant for the existing government which started rejecting "the disagreements of the past" with its own reform. Of course, with much resistance in its own community. At the moment heated discussions are taking place about the administrative-command system of management which Stalin took to its logical conclusion in his personality cult.

However, these discussions do not only concern the 30-year Stalin period, but also include the times after him, in which the administrative-command system was also a brake to the Soviet social transformation. And not only that of the Soviets. Many participants in the events of those times are still in power, but their untouchability is gradually disappearing.

How and with what can the creation of a new personality cult be avoided?

The question is not accidental. The well-known doctor of law, Anatoliy Vengerov, reminds us that at the 20th CPSU Congress in 1956 Stalin's cult was destroyed and in subsequent years, Khrushchev vainly nurtured the hope that the personality cult would disappear from ideology because even at the end of the sixtiess Brezhnev's ugly personality cult began and blossomed a little later. The reform of 1965 did not save the USSR from the bad aspects of a command administration, says Vengerov, so such danger exists also for today's restructuring.

These comments are directly aimed at the address by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, regardless of who is in this position as both party and state authority is concentrated in this post. Therefore, Ivan Benevolenskiy from Omsk says that democracy and glasnost should not "be linked only to the personal qualities" of the party general secretary, not even to such great ones like those which Gorbachev possesses, because with the concentration of authority in the hands of one personality, talk about democracy "could become fiction."

Otherwise, the discussions most often stress that "there is no guarantee of democracy." It is already clear that the slowdowns were caused by the personality cult, voluntarism, and the violation of the principles of socialism at the top of the party-state pyramid, so that even a Constitutional demarcation of the function of the party and state and the precise specification of "the amount of power" of the CPSU Central Committee general secretary are being insisted upon.

Professor Nikolay Belyayev recently told us that he suggested in a letter to the Central Committee that the party statute also makes it impossible for the general secretary to be replaced at the will of a group of officials in the Politburo or the Central Committee. Belyayev says that the country paid dearly for the dismissal of Khrushchev in 1966, who was called back to Moscow from a vacation in the Crimea to hand in his notice for "health reasons." Belyayev's proposal was publicly supported but it does not exclude the "absolute power" of the party leader.

Now we have Lenin's most ubiquitous quote, on which proposals for the legal demarcation of the functions of the party and state depend. "The absence of a strict demarcation of functions and incompetent interference lead to a reduction in the strict and exact accountability of everyone and increases bureaucratism in party organizations which do everything and nothing...."

Dr Vengerov believes that it is unacceptable to apply this message of Lenin's to the relationship between the party and state-economic organizations, which many people do, and to exclude a limiting of the responsibility of the leader of the party in power, like the CPSU. Therefore, he believes that the term of office of the CPSU general secretary, as leader of the party and the country, should be limited, not only in the party's statute but also in the state Constitution. An all-union referendum would decide on extending his term of office.

Many people call this proposal "too radical" but Vengerov goes a step further: He suggests that a swearing-in procedure be introduced for the political leader and the senior state officials. As well as tying the person involved to honorably and consistently fulfilling his duty, the text of this oath could contain an obligation to preserve the political structure of Soviet society. Violating this oath would be the basis for removing the official from his position and possibly for initiating criminal proceedings. Such a procedure could be initiated with the setting up of a Constitutional court which should be established in the USSR.

Bitter Lessons [subhead]

The lessons of history are obviously too bitter, so legal guarantees for the development of democracy are being publicly sought. Everything which could start the personality cult anew is being criticized. The philosopher Nadarov and many of his supporters put forward the view that for the normal development of the country, Constitutional norms should make it impossible to merge the highest party and state posts which would be carried out by one person.

Stalin and Khrushchev were heads of the party as well as presidents of the government but Brezhnev, Andropov, and Chernenko were general secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee and chairmen of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. Gorbachev decided not to

take this step, although the conditions were right for it. A merging of the senior posts is assessed today as the basis for the renewal or strengthening of personal power.

Recently something has been happening which used to be unthinkable in Soviet practice: Reforms of the political system in some socialist countries are being publicly praised.

Here are a few characteristic observations. The personality cult was "born" in some other socialist countries at the same time as in the USSR—from the extreme example in China (Stalin's cult was equated with Mao's cult) to various modifications in Romania, Cuba, Bulgaria, and other countries of Eastern Europe. Recently, changes have been emphasized in these countries, but not in all of them. The Bulgarian limit of two 5-year terms of office for the leader of the party has been praised and the provision that the leader can be given a third term of office in exceptional cases, has been criticized. Also, the separation of the highest party and highest state posts in Czechoslovakia is being kindly talked about, as well as the systemic and cadre changes in China.

Dr Vengerov draws the following conclusion from this and Soviet experience: "A demarcation of the functions of the real (party and state) powers of Soviet society could create a state-administrative guarantee against the personality cult, but this alone is not sufficient for the masses to be included in the management of state and social work."